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G. KREYENBROEK

SRAOŠA IN THE
ZOROASTRIAN TRADITION



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E. J. BRILL
1985

SRAOŠA IN THE
ZOROASTRIAN TRADITION

BY

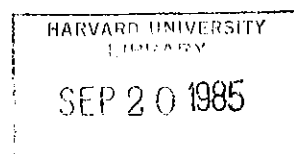
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*Dedicated to
Professor Mary Boyce
in gratitude*

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ABBREVIATIONS

JOURNALS AND OTHER COMPOSITE WORKS:

<i>AbhSäAk</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>ActIr</i>	<i>Acta Iranica</i>
<i>ActOr</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
<i>AJPhil</i>	<i>The American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>ArchOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i>
<i>AsStud</i>	<i>Asiatische Studien / Etudes Asiatiques, Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde.</i>
<i>BB</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen</i>
<i>BIrCF</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Iranian Culture Foundation</i>
<i>BSL</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société de linguistique</i>
<i>BSO(A)S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i>
<i>FolOr</i>	<i>Folia Orientalia</i>
<i>HdbOr</i>	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik, ed. by B. Spuler, Leiden/Cologne</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IF</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
<i>IJJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>The Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JCOI</i>	<i>Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute</i>
<i>JMIS</i>	<i>Journal of Mithraic Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>KZ</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen, begründet von A. Kuhn</i>
<i>MKNedAW</i>	<i>Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie der Wetenschappen</i>
<i>MSL</i>	<i>Mémoires de la société de linguistique</i>
<i>MSS</i>	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
<i>SbbayrAk</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München</i>
<i>SBE</i>	<i>Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Müller</i>
<i>SbHeidAk</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>SbPrAk</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin</i>
<i>SiIr</i>	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
<i>SWAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>TPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
<i>WZKSOA</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZII</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik</i>

TEXTS

<i>Afr.</i>	<i>Afrinagān</i>
<i>Aog.</i>	<i>Aogamadaēcā</i>
<i>Av.</i>	<i>Avesta</i>
<i>AWN.</i>	<i>Ardāy Wirāz Nāmag</i>
<i>AyJam.</i>	<i>Ayādgar i Jāmāspīg</i>

<i>Bd.</i>	<i>Bundahišn</i>
<i>DD.</i>	<i>Dādestān ī Dēnīg</i>
<i>Dk (M).</i>	<i>Dēnkard</i> (ed. Maḍan)
<i>DrAD.</i>	<i>Drāyišn ī Ahreman ō Dēwān</i>
<i>F.</i>	<i>Frahang ī Ōm</i>
<i>Farz.</i>	<i>Farḍiyātnāma</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Gāh</i>
<i>GBd.</i>	<i>Greater or Indian Bundahišn</i>
<i>HandAM.</i>	<i>Handarz ī Ādurbād ī Maḥraspandān</i>
<i>JFr.</i>	<i>Jawišt ī Friyān</i>
<i>MX.</i>	<i>Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad</i>
<i>Nir.</i>	<i>Nirangestān</i>
<i>Ny.</i>	<i>Niyāyišn</i>
<i>Phl.SrW.</i>	<i>Pahlavi Srōš Wāj</i>
<i>Phl.Vend.</i>	<i>Pahlavi Vendīdād</i>
<i>Phl.Y.</i>	<i>Pahlavi Yasna</i>
<i>Phl.Yt.</i>	<i>Pahlavi Yašt</i>
<i>Purs.</i>	<i>Pursišnihā</i>
<i>RV.</i>	<i>Ṛgveda</i>
<i>Riv.</i>	<i>Rivāyat</i>
<i>RivĀd.</i>	<i>Rivāyat ī Ādur-Farnbāg</i>
<i>RivDD.</i>	<i>The Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg</i>
<i>RivEA.</i>	<i>Rivāyat ī Ēmēd ī Āšwahištān</i>
<i>RivFr.</i>	<i>Rivāyat ī Farnbāg-Srōš</i>
<i>RivHor.</i>	<i>Rivāyat of Hormazyār Framarz</i>
<i>SadB.</i>	<i>Sad-dar Bondahēš</i>
<i>SadN.</i>	<i>Sad-dar Našr</i>
<i>Sir.</i>	<i>Sīrūza</i>
<i>ŠnŠ.</i>	<i>Šāyist-nē-Šāyist</i>
<i>SrŠn.</i>	<i>Srōš-šnāyēnidārīh</i>
<i>SrW.</i>	<i>Srōš Wāj</i>
<i>SupplŠnŠ.</i>	<i>The Supplement to the Šāyist-nē-Šāyist</i>
<i>Vend.</i>	<i>Vendīdād</i>
<i>Visp.</i>	<i>Vispered</i>
<i>Y.</i>	<i>Yasna</i>
<i>YH.</i>	<i>Yasna Haptanḥāiti</i>
<i>Yt.</i>	<i>Yašt</i>
<i>XA.</i>	<i>Xorda Avestā</i>
<i>Zādspr.</i>	<i>Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram</i>
<i>ZWY.</i>	<i>Zand ī Wahman Yasn</i>

(For abbreviations of book-titles, which are usually cited with the names of the authors, see BIBLIOGRAPHY).

GENERAL

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
act.	active
ASax.	Anglo-Saxon
Av.	Avestan
<i>a.v.</i>	<i>ašəm vohū</i>
AW	F. C. Andreas and J. Wackernagel
Bth.	Chr. Bartholomae
BTA	Bāhramgore T. Anklesaria
dat.	dative

du.	dual
GAv.	Gathic Avestan
Gdn.	K. F. Geldner
Gei.	B. Geiger
gen.	genitive
gloss.	glossary
Guj.	Gujarati
HPS.	H.-P. Schmidt
IE.	Indo-European
imper.	imperative
Ind.	Indian
ind.	indicative
Ins.	S. Insler
instr.	instrumental
Kuip.	F. B. J. Kuiper
Le.	M. Lentz
Lith.	Lithuanian
Lo.	H. Lommel
Man.	Manichaean
ManMp.	Manichaean Middle Persian
ManPth.	Manichaean Parthian
med.	medium
Mess.	G. Messina
Mlr.	Middle Iranian
Moult.	J. H. Moulton
MP.	Middle Persian
Nlr.	New Iranian
NP.	New Persian
Nyb.	H. S. Nyberg
OHG.	Old High German
OInd.	Old Indian
OP.	Old Persian
OPruss.	Old Prussian
opt.	optative
pass.	passive
Paz.	Pāzand
Pers.	Persian
Phl.	Pahlavi
pl.	plural
Pth.	Parthian
Sanj.	D. P. Sanjana
sg.	singular
Skt.	Sanskrit
Smi.	M. W. Smith
subj.	subjunctive
TDA	T. D. Anklesaria
trsl.	translation
var.	variant
voc.	vocative
YAv.	Younger Avestan
<i>y.a.v.</i>	<i>yaθā ahū vairyō</i>
<i>y.hāt.</i>	<i>yeñhē hātqm</i>

INTRODUCTION

The principal reason for attempting the present study was the fact that no coherent interpretation of Sraoša's character, history and functions existed that was based on a thorough examination of all the available material. There was no shortage, it is true, of views, expressed at varying lengths, on the character and development of the divinity; even the best of these appeared to be based, however, on a selection only of the available sources—usually stressing conclusions drawn from one group of texts, while using the rest of the material merely as corroborative evidence, but sometimes also making use selectively of a wider range of data without examining the material in its entirety. Many of these interpretations, moreover, were based on theories concerning the early history of Zoroastrianism which would now no longer be taken for granted. As a result, the student of Zoroastrianism was confronted with a wealth of reasonably well-documented, yet widely divergent opinions on Sraoša—a state of affairs which made the need for a systematic study all the more keenly felt.

The present work therefore aims at providing a comprehensive analysis of Sraoša's character, functions and development, based on the whole of the 'classical' Zoroastrian tradition (views on Soruš expressed by Zoroastrians during the last two centuries, when the Parsis had come into contact with Western scholars and had sometimes been influenced by them, have not been used here as source-material), and taking into account the place occupied by Sraoša in the ritual and daily observances of the Zoroastrians.

A further reason for studying Sraoša was that he appears to be a wholly Iranian divinity, whose development can be followed from the origins of Zoroastrianism until its most recent stages. Sraoša's name occurs in the *Gāthās*, two hymns are devoted to him in the Younger Avesta, and his importance seems to have increased considerably in later Zoroastrianism, where he is called 'lord of this world'. It thus seemed that the study of Sraoša would offer an excellent illustration of both continuity and development in the Zoroastrian tradition.

It may be pointed out that some of the views put forward here are based on the assumption that the Zoroastrian sources reflect—each in a way appropriate to its own time and function—a continuous and essentially unbroken tradition, subject to evolutionary changes rather than radical breaks—a view which, having long been eclipsed by more dramatic theories about the history of the faith, has been vindicated in recent decades, particularly through the work of M. Boyce.

In earlier works, interpretations of Sraoša's character and functions were generally undertaken in the context of wider studies, and the conclusions reached by their authors regarding this divinity often appeared to be influenced by their views on broader issues. Since theories about Sraoša do not, therefore, seem to show an independent development of scholarly opinion, a detailed survey of such views would seem pointless unless it were accompanied by a discussion of other aspects of these authors' work, which would lie beyond the scope of the present study. Suffice it therefore, by way of introduction, to indicate the most important issues which have played or, in the present writer's opinion, should play a role in scholarly discussion about Sraoša.

First of all, there is the question of the meaning of the *Yazata's* name, and its possible implications for the interpretation of his character. Most scholars are agreed in taking the word *səraoša-*, as it occurs in the *Gāthās*, to mean, basically "hearkening", hence "obedience", a concept denoting man's hearkening to the divine word. The possibility that Sraoša may also personify God's hearkening to man's prayers and recitations of the Sacred Word was considered by a number of scholars, such as Mills (*JRAS* 1905, 451 n. 2), Geiger (*AmSp*, 245), Lommel (*RelZar*, 75) and Humbach (*Gathas* II, 9). Benveniste (*RHR* CXXX, 1945, 13-4) postulated for the concept *sraoša-* a meaning "discipline", which has the advantage of combining the sense of "obedience" with the notion of punishment, and appears to accord well with some of the traits attributed to the *Yazata*.

The way in which the word *səraoša-* is used in the *Gāthās* seems similar in many respects to the use of nouns denoting the proper names of the great Gathic Entities. Many scholars believe, therefore, that in Zarathustra's revelation, Sraoša (and also Aši, with whom Sraoša appears to have close links in the *Gāthās*) was closely associated with these Entities. Moulton (*EZ*, 99), for instance, believed Sraoša to have been the seventh Aməša Spənta. Geiger's lucid remarks (*AmSp*, 87, 106 ff.) on the relations between these divinities seem to have deeply influenced later scholarly opinion.

Relatively little explicit debate seems to have taken place over the question whether Sraoša already belonged to the pre-Zarathustrian pantheon, or if he was first worshipped as a *Yazata* by Zarathustra. A majority of scholars appear to hold the latter view. Boyce (*Hist* I, 62) has challenged some of the considerations which have prompted this belief without, however, definitely committing herself to the opposite view. Dumézil (*IdTrip*, 70-1) regarded Sraoša and Aši as "transpositions zoroastriennes d'Aryaman et de Bhaga". This was accepted by some scholars, such as Duchesne-Guillemin (*Rel*, 203) and Widengren (*Rel*, 15).

In the Younger Avesta, Sraoša's links with the Aməša Spəntas are clearly alluded to but not, it seems, particularly stressed, whereas Sraoša's ties with

Mithra are illustrated by the fact that, in the greater hymn to Sraoša, the passages describing the divinity in his more militant aspects appear to have been borrowed from the hymn to Mithra. Sraoša's apparent defection from his original circle naturally seemed intriguing, particularly to those who regarded Mithra as fundamentally alien to Zarathustra's message. Some scholars sought to explain the connection between these two divinities by claiming that Sraoša in some way represented Mithra, or Mithra's devotees. Thus Güntert (*Weltkönig*, 62) maintained "dass Zarathustra zunächst versuchte, die Mithragestalt unter dem Namen Sraoša in seine Götterwelt aufzunehmen". Nyberg (*Rel*, 66) speaks of "dieser zoroastrische Sraoša, der im Grunde nichts anderes ist als ein verkleideter Mithra", and concludes (*ibid.*, 67) "dass Sraoša historisch gesehen der Gott ist, der die Mithragemeinde personifiziert".

More often, however, it was held that Sraoša had moved apart from the circle of the Aməša Spəntas in the course of time, and that his character had largely become assimilated to that of the pre-Zarathustrian divinities. Although the apparent discrepancy between the picture of Sraoša presented by the *Yašts* and the impression one may receive when studying the Gathic passages may be due to some extent at least to differences between the literary conventions and functions of the *Gāthās* and the *Yašts*, most scholars nevertheless attributed this solely to historical developments in Sraoša's character and affiliations. Consequently, their work tended to emphasize the contrast between the 'abstract' nature of the divinity in the *Gāthās*, and the "als anschaulich vorstellbaren persönlichen Gott voll tätigen Eifers" (Lommel, *Yts*, 86), of later texts. Lommel himself (*ibid.*) added, however, that many of the traits and functions later attributed to Sraoša seem to derive from his original identity as "Obedience".

W. B. Kristensen (*Heraut*, 5) also remarked that Sraoša was a "double" of Mithra. He sought the basis of their association, however, in the fact that they could both have the epithet *tanu.məθra-*, which he rendered as "embodiment of the Sacred Word", and which he took to indicate that both divinities were manifestations of the Word in the physical world. Sraoša's connections with the Sacred Word curiously received more attention in the work of earlier scholars than in that of their successors. Windischmann (*ZorStud*, 142), Tiele (*Godsd*, 150) and Haug (*Essays*, 307) regarded Sraoša as the embodiment of the Sacred Tradition, or of the Revelation. Haug (*ibid.*) even claimed that Sraoša was "the personification of the whole divine service, including the prayers as well as the sacrificial rites". In recent decades, this aspect of the *Yazata's* personality has again been stressed in the work of M. Boyce (e.g. *Hist* I, 60, 226).

Boyce and Kotwal (*BSOAS* XXXIV, 1971, 306 n. 57) suggested that it was Sraoša's connection with the Sacred Word which gave him his central

position in the the devotional life of the Zoroastrians—an aspect of Zoroastrian studies which had until then been rather neglected by most Western scholars of the present century. While Sraoša's presence in the funerary ritual, for instance, is sometimes mentioned, the fact that in living Zoroastrianism Sraoša "receives more devotions than any other *yazata*" (Boyce, *Hist* I, 271), is hardly given due consideration in the works of most of these authors.

The same is true of another striking feature of the *Yazata*, to wit, the fact that he is hailed as 'lord of this world' in the Pahlavi books. That Sraoša, who still appears to be a 'minor' divinity in the Younger Avesta, should be described as 'vice-regent of Ohrmazd on earth' in later texts, would seem remarkable enough to merit the attention of historians of the faith. As a factor which may have contributed to their comparative silence (the fact was mentioned by Gray, *Foundations*, 108, without comment, and by Boyce, *Hist* I, 226, 271), one may perhaps point to the absence of a commonly accepted view of the history of Zoroastrianism, which might have served as a basis for the evaluation of the Pahlavi material and its relation to the rest of the tradition, and might thus have helped to assess the significance of statements found there which appear to differ from the Avestan material. (It must be remarked, however, that Sraoša's role as a guardian and judge of the soul after death, which is not mentioned explicitly in the Avesta and for which we thus have the authority of the Pahlavi and New Persian sources only, seems to play a significant role in some scholars' interpretations of Sraoša's character, cf. e.g. Lommel, *RelZar*, 76 ff.)

It is hoped that the present study may help to demonstrate the tenability of the conception of the Zoroastrian tradition as a continuous, evolving whole, and illustrate the contribution which the study of the Pahlavi sources and of the devotional life of the Zoroastrians, when regarded in this light, has to make to our understanding of the history and beliefs of the Zoroastrian faith.

In presenting the material, some problems were posed by the dissimilarity of the sources. While a rendering of the Gathic passages where the word *səraoša-* occurs would be meaningless without an attempt at interpretation, the translations of the Younger Avestan hymns to Sraoša are largely self-explanatory and require, in the first instance, no more than a commentary on the grammatical and philological questions involved. As a deeper insight in the meaning of these hymns can only be gained by comparing their contents with the evidence of other sources, a discussion of the further implications of the hymns is left to the concluding chapter. The scattered passages from the Pahlavi books, and the discussion of Sraoša's place in the ritual required yet another principle of organization: in the chapters dealing with these subjects, passages or references which illustrate a given point are grouped together.

In presenting the Gathic material, I have generally followed Humbach. Where I have preferred a different reading, this is indicated in the text.

For the Avestan hymns to Sraoša, I have adopted Geldner's metrical presentation. While this obviously has grave shortcomings, it would seem that Henning's theory (*TPS* 1942, 52 ff.) that a stress metre was operative in the Younger Avesta, has not been sufficiently elaborated as yet to yield verifiable results (on this see further Tedesco, *Language* 36, 126 ff.). The alternative, treating the text as if it were prose, although in itself consistent and defensible, would nevertheless appear to be a step backwards. There is ample evidence that a number of YAv. texts were organized according to some metrical principle; even though we do not know exactly what that principle was (if, as seems possible, a change from quantitative metre to stress metre took place in the recitation of poetry during the centuries which intervened between the original composition of the hymns and the time when they were eventually committed to writing, it may well remain impossible to determine precisely which factors played a role in each instance), it would seem unsatisfactory to deny implicitly that metrics played any role at all.

The Avestan text of the hymns and of Y.56 presented here is based on Geldner's edition; the Pahlavi version of Y.56, 57 on Dhabhar's *Pahlavi Yasna and Visperad*, and Phl.Yt.11 on Dhabhar's *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*. Where I have differed materially from their readings, this is accounted for in the commentary. Since each of the above-mentioned works contains a critical apparatus, the reader is referred to these, and no critical apparatus is given in this book.

For Avestan, I have used the 'traditional' method of transcription.

In the transcription of Pahlavi, I have followed MacKenzie in all but a few minor points. For the sake of consistency, I have also used this transcription when quoting authors who used a different system themselves, except where this might lead to ambiguities or misunderstandings. In transliterating Pahlavi, I have adopted the generally accepted system (with ' for *aleph* and ' for *ayn*), except in the case of *hēth*, which is transcribed here as *X* when occurring in ideograms, and as *h* in Iranian words, *H* being used to represent *hē*, which only occurs in ideograms. In accordance with widely accepted practice, Phl. *ud* and *i* have been added or omitted wherever the text appeared to require this, without further comment.

In the transcription of New Persian, the 'short vowels are represented as *a*, *e*, *o*; the long vowels as *ā*, *ī*, *ū*; the diphthongs as *ai* and *ou*. The Arabic emphatic consonants are represented as *ḥ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*. *ḍ*; Arabic *ṭh* (*ṭhā*) and *ḍh* (*ḍhāl*) as *ṣ* and *ẓ* respectively.

In the transcription of proper names and technical terms, some inconsistencies will inevitably be found. Usually, in translating Avestan passages, the Avestan forms are given; if these are generally known in their Westernized

form (e.g. "Zarathustra"), these forms are used. When rendering Pahlavi or New Persian, I have generally used the forms found in those languages, except where another version of the word is clearly better-known ("Gāthās", rather than "Gāhān").

In general discussions the Pahlavi forms of such words have usually been preferred to the New Persian ones, partly because these tend to be more frequently used in works on Zoroastrianism and may thus be more familiar to some readers, and also because in NP. Zoroastrian sources, various forms of such nouns sometimes occur (e.g. *frvhr* and *frvš*, variously transcribed by Zoroastrian and Western authors as *fravahr*, *forūhar*, *fravaš*, *farūš*, etc.); exceptions are made, again, when the NP. variant is better known ("daxma" rather than "daxmag").

In order to make the text more easily accessible to those who are not familiar with Iranian languages, translations or explanations have been added in a number of cases where they may seem unnecessary to Iranists.

An asterisk (*) indicates that a form is uncertain. Glosses are put within square brackets []. Round brackets () in texts and translations denote additions by the author. Angular brackets < > are used to mark words which occur in the MSS., but are probably to be deleted.

When the original version of the present work had been completed, K. Dehghan's *Der Avesta-Text Srōš Yašt (Yasna 57) mit Pahlavi- und Sanskrit-übersetzung* was published. Although it was plainly impossible to avoid some degree of overlapping between the two works (a text and translation of Y.57 being indispensably necessary in a study of Sraoša which aims at comprehensiveness), the commentary on Y.57 has been revised so as to avoid duplications as far as possible.

CHAPTER ONE

SĒRAOŠA- IN THE GĀTHĀS

The word *səraoša-* occurs seven times in the *Gāthās* (Y.28.5; 35.5,14; 43.12; 44.16; 45.5; 46.17), both as the proper name of the divinity and, it seems, as a common noun.¹

The word is apparently derived from an *s*-extension of the verb *srav-*, IE. **k̑leu-* "to hear".² The stem **k̑leu-s* yields such words as OHG. *hlōsēn*, ASax. *hlystan* "to listen", OPruss. *klausiton* "erhören", and Lith. *paklusnūs* "obedient".³

Mayrhofer⁴ gives for OInd. *śruṣ-* a meaning "willfähig sein, auf jmd. hören / to be obedient", cf. *śroṣan* (RV.I.68.9) "sie sollen auf . . . hören", *śruṣti-* "obedience", etc.

Bartholomae⁵ gives for Av. *sraoša-* a basic meaning "'Gehör, Gehorsam, gehorsamer Sinn' usw. des Menschen gegenüber dem göttlichen Willen"; from this he derives a collective "Gefolge, Gefolgschaft", which may have led Andreas and Wackernagel⁶ to postulate for the word a meaning "Diener", but which was not otherwise widely accepted.⁷ "Obedience", on the other hand, was almost universally accepted as the basic meaning of Av. *s(ə)raoša-*. Lommel⁸ considered an interpretation of the word as "Erhörung" (i.e. as God's hearkening to man) but seems to have rejected this in his later *Gāthās*.⁹ Humbach¹⁰ claims that *səraoša-* can have the meaning "obedience", but that "in der Sphäre des höherstehenden", the word means "Erhörung". In view of the evidence mentioned above, it seems plausible to assume for IE. **k̑leu-s* a meaning "hearing with attention, hearkening to", which would admit of an interpretation of Av. *s(ə)raoša-* either as "man's hearkening to God's commands, obedience" or, conversely, as "God's hearkening to man's prayers, Erhörung". The Indian evidence, however, and perhaps the fact that

¹ Cf. Boyce, *Hist* I, 226; see further below.

² See J. Pokorny, *IEW*, I. Band, 606-7.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ M. Mayrhofer, *EtWAi* III, 394.

⁵ *ÄirWb*, 1634.

⁶ In *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. Phil.-hist. Kl., 1913, 366. Against this see Geiger, *AmSp*, 106 n. 1; Lommel, *RelZar*, 77.

⁷ But cf. Lommel, *Gathas*, 78 with n. 1.

⁸ *RelZar*, 75.

⁹ E.g. pp. 75, 78 ff., 114.

¹⁰ *IF* 63, 101; *Gathas* II, 9.

in Avestan, as in a number of other Indo-European languages,¹¹ derivatives of the simple root *kleu-, rather than of the extended stem, appear to be commonly used for divine hearkening,¹² seem to argue against the latter possibility.

That Av. *səraoša-* can be used to denote the proper name of the divinity is suggested primarily by its occurrence as object of *zbayā* in Y.33.5.a: *yastē vispā.mazištəm səraošəm zbayā avanḥānē* (see further below). The verb *zav-* "to invoke, call", is mostly used in the Avesta with the names of divinities as its object (*AirWb*, 1667). In the *Gāthās*, its objects are all terms which can denote, or refer to, 'personal' beings, divinities and perhaps humans (Y.46.14; cf. below); it does not occur with nouns which denote abstract concepts only. It is found twice with *aša-* "Righteousness" as object, viz. in Y.51.10.c: *maiḥyō zbayā ašəm vanḥuyā aši *gaṭ. tē* "I call unto me Righteousness, that He may come to me with good Reward", and Y.43.10.a: *aṭ tū mōi dāiš ašəm hyaṭ mā zaozāomi* "Then mayest Thou show me Righteousness, whom I do indeed invoke". Once, its object is *tāng* "those", which may refer to divinities or humans, Y.46.14.d,e: *yāngstū mazdā hadəmōi mināš ahurā / tāng zbayā vanḥāuš uxδāiš mananḥō* "Those, o Lord Wisdom,¹³ whom Thou dost¹⁴ to Thy dwelling place, those I invoke with the words of good thought". The participle *zbayentē* occurs in Y.49.12.a, without explicit object: *kaṭ tōi ašā zbayentē avanḥō* "What (is there) of help, through Thy Righteousness, for him who invokes (Thee)?¹⁵"

A further indication that *səraoša-* can be a proper name, may be found in Y.43.12.c,d,e: *... parā hyaṭ mōi ā.jimaṭ / səraošō aši maza.rayā hacimnō / yā vi ašiš *rānōibyō savōi [vī]dāyāt* "... before Harkening will come to me, accompanied by Reward, having great riches, who will distribute the rewards to both factions at the time of benefit(?)" (on which see below). Here, the word *səraošō* is juxtaposed to what must almost certainly be the name of the divinity Reward, so that it seems plausible to assume that *səraošō* is also to be taken as a proper name. A parallel is afforded by Y.46.16.c: *yaθrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš* "where Devotion is accompanied by Righteousness", where the verb *hak-* also links two nouns which apparently denote Entities. This is not conclusive, however, for in two cases *hak-* connects what may be the name of an Entity with a common noun, viz. in Y.34.2.b: *spəntahyācā nərəš šyaoθanā*

¹¹ See further R. Schmitt, *Dichtung*, 194 ff.

¹² E.g. *sraotā mōi* (Y.33.11.c).

¹³ For a summary of the discussion on the meaning of *mazdā* see, with references, Boyce, op. cit., 37 ff. On the form, cf. below, Ch. II, n. 57.2.⁵

¹⁴ The meaning of *mināš* is uncertain, cf. Humbach, *Gathas* II, 72.

¹⁵ That the logical object of *zbayentē* is the divinity rather than the help which Zarathustra is asking for, is indicated by the use of *zav-* with acc. and dat. in Yt.13.28: *tā mazdā zbayaṭ avanḥe*, "those (i.e. the *fravašis*) Mazda invoked for help", and Yt.13.35: *yā *ava *zbayatō avanḥe*, "whom (i.e. the *fravašis*) they both invoke for help".

yehyā urvā ašā hacaitē, "and the actions of the bounteous man, whose spirit is accompanied by Righteousness"—and Y.44.10.b,c: *təm daēnəm yā hātəm vahištā / yā mōi gaēθā ašā frādōiṭ hacəmnā* "that attitude which is the best of the existing ones, which may cause my herds to increase, accompanied by Righteousness".

An apt illustration of the difficulties involved in an attempt to determine by purely philological means whether a GAv. noun is to be interpreted as a common noun or as a proper name, is offered by the comparison of Y.45.5.c and Y.49.4.d. While it might be thought that in the former verse (*yōi mōi ahmāi səraošəm dan cayascā* "who will bring into existence *səraošəm* and respect to me for it"), the fact that *səraošəm* is object of *dā-*, whose implied subject seems to be 'men' (cf. *marətaēibyō* in the previous line), could be regarded as proof that *səraošəm* cannot denote a 'personal' Entity — the latter verse (*tōi daēvəng dan yā dragvatō daēnā*, which Humbach¹⁶ translates "die (i.e. the evil-doers, GK) setzen die Daēvas ein, was der Gesinnung des Trughaften entspricht"),¹⁷ seems to show that *dā-* can have a 'personal' object even in such a context.

In view of the apparent meaning of the verses it seems likely nevertheless, that in the above-mentioned passage (Y.45.5), where *səraošəm* is juxtaposed to the abstract *cayascā* "and respect" (see further below), and in Y.33.14, (cf. below), where Zarathustra declares that he will "give *səraošəm* . . . as a gift to Lord Wisdom", the word is to be regarded as a common noun. Its identity with the proper name seems to show how closely concept and divinity were connected in the mind of the Prophet.

In the following pages, it is proposed to examine the Gathic passages in which the word *səraoša-* occurs, to discuss earlier translations, and to consider these passages in the light of the wider context in which they are set.

The text of each verse will be given,¹⁸ followed by a number of translations by outstanding Gathic scholars, and a short survey of the most important grammatical and semantic points of debate, which will in turn be followed by a general discussion of meaning and function of the word *səraoša-* in each context.

The Pahlavi versions of these passages, which do not, it seems, contribute much to our understanding of the original verses, are given in an Appendix.

¹⁶ *Gathas* I, 143.

¹⁷ For a different interpretation of *dan* ("they have served") see Insler, *Gathas*, 95, 200-1, 296.

¹⁸ As was pointed out in the Introduction, Humbach's text (*Gathas* I) has generally been followed.

Y.28.5

ašā kaṭ θwā darāsāni manascā vohū vaēdamnō
gātūmcā ahurāi *savištāi saraošām mazdāi
anā maθrā mazištām vaurōimaidi xrafstrā hizvā

TRANSLATIONS:

Bartholomae,
Gathas, 2

"O Aša! Werde ich Dich erschauen und den Vohumanah, als ein Wissender? den Thron des gewaltigsten Ahura und das Gefolge des Mazdāh? Mittelst dieses (Verheissungs)wortes wollen wir das Raubzeug durch unsere Zunge zu dem bekehren, was das Grösste ist."

Lentz,
Y.28, 932

"Werde ich als einer, der dem Grossmächtigsten Herrn, dem Weisen, (seinen) Gehorsam weiht, mit der Wahrheit dich, das gute Denken und den Thron erschauen? Durch dies Zauberswort wollen wir mit unserer Zunge die Ungeschöpfe kräftigst abwehren."

Humbach,
Gathas I, 77

"O Wahrhaftigkeit, werde ich dich erblicken, da ich den guten Gedanken erfasse / und als Weg für den Lebensherrs denjenigen Gehorsam gegenüber ihm, dem gar starken und kundigen / der durch diesen Zauberspruch am grössten ist: 'wir möchten die Unholde mit der Zunge abwehren'."

H.-P. Schmidt,
IJJ I, 170

"Werde ich mit der Wahrheit dich und das Gute Denken erschauen, indem ich mir (diese) und den Weg zum stärksten Weisen Herrn, (nämlich das Gehör für ihn) finde..."

Insler,
Gathas, 25

"Truth, shall I see thee, as I continue to acquire both good thinking and the way to the Lord? With a fierce tongue we would turn the greatest obedience to the most powerful Lord through the following prayer..."

POINTS OF DEBATE:¹⁹

ašā: instrumental (Bth., Hum., Ins.); vocative (AW, Smi., Le., Lo.).
vaēdamnō: from ¹vaēd-, "to know" (Bth., AW, Smi.); from ²vaēd-, "to find" (HPS., Hum.: "erfassen"; Ins.: "acquire, possess"); from ³vaēd-, "dienend ehren, willfährig sein" (Le.).
gātūmcā: "throne" (Bth., AW, Gei., Lo.); "way, road, path" (HPS., Hum., Ins.).
ahurāi.. possessive datives (Bth., AW, Moul., Lo.); datives of direc-

¹⁹ Abbreviations of authors' names and works used in this chapter are as follows: AW = F.C. Andreas and J. Wackernagel, "Die erste, zweite und fünfte Gāthā des Zuraxthuštros"; Bth. = Chr. Bartholomae, *Die Gathas des Avesta*; Gei. = B. Geiger, *Die Avesta Spāntas*; Gld. = K. F. Geldner, *Avesta*; HPS. = H.-P. Schmidt, "Awestische Wortstudien"; Hum. = H. Humbach, *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*; Ins. = S. Insler, *The Gathas of Zarathustra*; Kuip. 1 = F. B. J. Kuiper, "The bliss of Aša"; Kuip. 2 = F. B. J. Kuiper, "On Zarathustra's Language"; Le. = M. Lentz, "Yasna 28"; Lo. = H. Lommel, *Die Gathas des Zarathustra*; Lo., *Rel* = H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*. Molé = M. Molé, *Culte, Mythe et Cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*; Monna = M. C. Monna, *The Gathas of Zarathustra*; Moul. = J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*; Nyb. = H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Irans*; Smi. = M. W. Smith, *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathustra*. For full bibliographic details see Bibliography.

savištāi..
mazdāi:
saraošām:

tion (HPS., Hum., Ins.)

"Gefolgschaft" (Bth.); "Diener" (AW); "Obedience" (Lo., Hum., Ins.); "Gehör (für ihn)" (HPS.); linked asyndetically to *gātūmcā* (Bth., Smi., Le., Lo.); in apposition to *gātūmcā* (HPS., Hum.); object of *vaurōimaidi* (Ins.).

anā maθrā:

qualifies following phrase (Bth., Smi., Le., Lo., Ins.); qualifies *mazištām* (Hum.).

mazištām:

predicative adjunct ("may we turn .. to the greatest thing", Bth., Smi.); adverb qualifying *vaurōimaidi* (Le., Lo.); adjective, with *saraošām* (Hum., Ins.).

xrafstrā:

acc. pl. n. of a noun (Bth., Smi., Lo., Hum.); instr. sg. of an adj. "fierce", qualifying *hizvā* (Ins.).

vaurōimaidi:

"may we convert, turn into" (Bth., Smi., Ins.); "may we turn away, ward off" (Le., Lo., Hum.).

Of the preceding translations, the one which diverges most widely from the others in its syntactical analysis of the latter part of the verse is Insler's. Insler rejects the interpretation of *saraošām* as standing in apposition to *gātūmcā*, on the grounds that the positioning of *mazištām*—which he takes as an adjective belonging to *saraošām*—after *anā maθrā*, and also the "fully inclusive type of coordination" of *manascā vohū...gātūmcā*, exclude this possibility. He therefore regards *saraošām* as the beginning of a new sentence, and as object of *vaurōimaidi*.

Neither of his arguments, however, seems conclusive. The claim that the double °cā joins word-groups so "inclusively" as to exclude the possibility that either group may be further qualified by an apposition is—especially in a text of such syntactical complexity as the *Gāthās*—incapable of positive proof. The second argument (viz. that the position of *mazištām* proves that *saraošām* cannot be linked to *gātūmcā*) equally seems to be an opinion rather than a proven fact. It is true that the words *saraošām anā maθrā mazištām* seem to introduce a new element of the proposition contained in the verse, but this would hardly appear to be sufficient reason for regarding it as the beginning of a wholly separate sentence.

Moreover, Insler's translation hinges on his interpretation of *xrafstrā* as inst. sg. of an adjective meaning "fierce", belonging to *hizvā*. In spite of the parallel with Av. *daēva-* which Insler²⁰ adduces, this hypothesis—implying that a word which was used by the Prophet himself as an adjective describing the tongues of the righteous, came to be used in later religious vocabulary as a substantive with wholly *daēvic* meaning—seems far-fetched.

If one does not therefore accept Insler's analysis of the syntax of this verse as the most probable, it seems that *saraošām* must be dependent on *vaēdamnō*,

²⁰ *Gathas*, 127.

either as a noun joined asyndetically to *gātūmcā*, or as an apposition to it. In view of the double °*cā* linking *vohū manas°* and *gātūm°*, and of H.-P. Schmidt's remarks,²¹ the latter interpretation seems the more plausible.

If one follows most modern scholars in taking *gātūm°* to mean "way, road" rather than "throne", this part of the verse would probably mean: "when I find Good Thought and the way to the very strong Lord Wisdom, which is *səraoša-*, . . .". In view of the parallel with *səraošəm višpā mazištəm* in Y.33.5.a, it seems plausible to assume that *mazištəm* is to be taken here as an adjective qualifying the noun *səraošəm* which, since it has the same epithet as in Y.33.5, (on which see above, p. 8), is here probably the proper name of the Yazata. Humbach's view that the intervening *anā mθrā* in turn qualifies *mazištəm* ("hearkening, greatest through this *mθra-*"), seems possible but if, as seems likely, *səraošəm* is to be understood as the proper name of the divinity, such an interpretation would yield doubtful sense. It would seem, however, that the position of *mazištəm* after *anā mθrā* might indicate that the words *anā mθrā* refer especially to *səraošəm mazištəm*.

What is meant by the words *anā mθrā* is not certain. They might denote Zarathustra's *Gāthās* generally, or a specific formula, such as the following verse (so Ins.), or the phrase *vāurōimaidi xrafstrā hizvā* (so Hum.). If one accepts the syntactical analysis proposed above, Insler's solution is unlikely, since it would leave the phrase *vāurōimaidi xrafstrā hizvā* without a clear function in this context. In view of the parallels offered by the last half-verses of vv. 6,7 (Y.28.6.c: *yā daibišvatō dvaēšā taurvayāma* "through which we may overcome the hostilities of the hostile one"; Y.28.7.c: *yā vā mθrā *sravimā *rādā* "through which *mθrā* we may hear Thy merciful dispensations"²²)—whose verbs are also 1st pl. optatives and which contain separate propositions but are, at the same time, integral parts of the verses to which they belong (being linked to the preceding part of those verses by the relative *yā*)—it seems unlikely that *vāurōimaidi xrafstrā hizvā* should be a wholly separate sentence. If it is therefore linked with the rest of the verse, it seems indicated that this is the phrase alluded to by the word *anā mθrā*.

It thus seems that the phrase "may we turn away the miscreants with the tongue" (expressing, presumably, the intention of overcoming the forces of evil through the powers of the Sacred Word), is expected to lead to the 'finding' of *Səraoša*, the greatest, who is also said to be "the way to Lord Wisdom".

The verse is set between two more or less coherent groups of verses. The first group (vv. 1-4) shows Zarathustra in the traditional attitude of worship ("with outstretched hands", *ustānazastō*, v. 1) and, although these verses

²¹ "Awestische Wortstudien", *IJJ* 1, 1957, 168 ff., cf. his trsl. (above, p. 10).

²² So Humbach, op. cit., *passim* ("Huldvolle Anordnungen").

contain some prayers for "boons" (*āyaptā*, v. 2), they lay emphasis, it seems, on the Prophet's intention of performing the act of worship as well as possible, ending with the declaration: "as long as I shall be able and capable, so long shall I look in quest of Righteousness" (*yavaṭ isāi tavācā avat xsāi aēšē ašahyā*, v. 4.c). The second group (vv. 6,7,8) more directly stresses the element of entreaty (cf. the imperatives in vv. 6,7, and the words *vahištəm... yāsā* "I pray for what is best" in v. 8). Verse 9 expresses concern lest the Prophet anger the divinities with his entreaties, but is followed by the confident request: "But those whom, in accordance with Righteousness and with Best Thought, Thou, Lord Wisdom, dost know to be just and deserving, for them fulfil their wish with attainments" (*aṭ yōng ašātca vōistā vanhēušcā dāθōng mananhō* | *əṛəθwōng mazdā ahurā aēibyō pərənā āpanāiš kāmam*, v. 10.a,b), a consideration perhaps intended to introduce the concluding verse, which contains the Prophet's prayer to hear the divine words directly from Lord Wisdom: "Thou who dost guard Righteousness and Good Thought through these (words) for ever, do Thou teach me to pronounce them, in accordance with Thy Spirit, from Thine own mouth, Lord Wisdom, (the words) through which the foremost existence shall come about here" (*yā āiš ašəm nipānhē manascā vohū yavaētāitē* | *tvōm mazdā ahurā frō.mā šišā θwahnāt* | **vaocaḥhē* | **mainyāuš hacā θwā ēānhā yāiš ā anhuš* | **paouruyō bavaṭ*, v. 11).

In the last two verses of this hymn, the fulfilment of the Prophet's desire to hear the words "through which Righteousness is guarded" from Lord Wisdom's own mouth, is thus seen to be in some measure dependent on his own qualities, his being "just and deserving". The same theme is found in v. 5, where "seeing Righteousness" is represented as depending on "finding Good Thought and the way to the very strong Lord Wisdom, i.e. *Səraoša*". Harkening, moreover, is expected to be 'found' when the desire is expressed of repelling the wicked ones through the power of the Sacred Word.

It seems plausible therefore, to assume that *səraoša-*, "Hearkening" personifies (if the word is indeed to be taken here as a proper name) the obedient frame of mind which finds expression on a practical level in the desire to defeat the forces of evil, and which enables one to hearken to the commands of the Lord. In the Prophet's case, it seems possible that Hearkening directly enables him to hear the words of Lord Wisdom (on which see further below).

If this is true, a striking parallel can be said to exist between Hearkening's connection with the power of the Sacred Word to repel evil as described here, and *Səraoša*'s function as a vanquisher of the forces of evil on earth as it is found in the later tradition (cf. below, Ch. II, e.g. Y.57.10,15,18; Ch. III, IV, *passim*). A difference appears to be that Hearkening is not described here as taking an active part in the battle against evil, but rather as a personification of the mentality which prompts man to fight it.

The meaning of the verse as a whole would then be:

"Righteousness shall I see Thee when I find Good Thought, and the way to the very strong Lord Wisdom, i.e. Harkening, the greatest, through this *maqbra*: may we turn away the miscreants with the tongue."

Y.33.5

yastē vispā.mazištām sraošām zbayā avanhānē
*apānō darəgō.jyāitīm *ā *xšaθrām vanhēuš mananhō*
*ašāt ā arəzūš paθō yaēšū mazdā ahurō *šaēiti*

TRANSLATIONS:

- Bartholomae,
Gathas, 36 "der ich Deinen Sraoša als den allergrössten anrufen will bei der Vollendung, wenn ich zu dem langen Leben gelange, hin zu dem Reich des VohuManah, zu den geraden Wegen zu Aša hin, bei denen MazdāhAhura wohnt."
- Lommel,
Rel. 75 "Deine Erhörung will ich als die allergrösste zu Hilfe rufen bei dem Aufhören (= zu Ruhe gehen, Ausspannen; Bezeichnung des eigenen "Heimgangs"), wenn ich zu dem langen Leben gelange..."
- H.-P. Schmidt,
IJJ I, 160 & 162 "Der ich herbeirufen will bei der Losbindung (der in 4 gemeinten Sünden) dein allergrösstes Gehör (Gehorsam) (, um es an die Stelle der Sünden zu setzen), ich, der ich gelangt bin zu langem Leben, zur Herrschaft des Guten Denkens, aufgrund der Wahrheit auf die richtigen Pfade, auf denen der Weise Herr wohnt."
- Lommel,
Gathas, 75-76 "der ich deinen Gehorsam (*sraoša*), den ganz grossen, zu Hilfe rufen will bei der Einkehr, wenn ich zum langen Leben gelange, hin zu dem Reich des Guten Denkens, infolge von Wahrsein zu den geraden Pfaden, an welchen der Weise Herr wohnt."
- Humbach,
Gathas I, 101 "da ich dir allergrössten Gehorsam durch Zuruf kundtun will beim Ausspannen, / wenn ich die Langlebigkeit erreicht habe und den Machtbereich des guten Gedankens, / die der Wahrheit gemäss geraden Pfade, auf denen der Kundige Lebensherr wohnt."
- Insler,
Gathas, 51 "I who, at the stopping (of these), shall summon the all-greatest obedience for Thee, I shall attain for us here the long-lived rule of good thinking and the paths, straight in accord with truth, wherein the Wise Lord dwells."

POINTS OF DEBATE:

- sraošām*: "Sraoša" (Bth.); "Erhörung" (Lo., *Rel.* 75); "obedience" (Hum., Lo., Ins.); "Gehör (Gehorsam)" (HPS., 163).
- zbayā*: 1st. sg. subj. act. (Bth., Hum., Lo., Ins.); 1st sg. ind. pres. act. (Kuip. 2, p. 9); "I shall invoke, summon" (Bth., HPS., Ins.);

avanhānē:

apānō:

darəgō.jyāitīm:

ā xšaθrām:

"ich werde zu Hilfe rufen" (Lo., *Rel.*); "ich will durch Zuruf kundtun" (Hum.).

"Conclusion, Vollendung" (Bth., Smi., Kuip. 2); "das Aufhören (= zu Ruhe gehen, Ausspannen; Bezeichnung des eigenen "Heimgangs")" (Lo., *Rel.* 75); "Ausspannen" (Hum.); "Losbindung (der Sünden) / the stopping (of these)" (HPS., Ins.).

to be read **apā nō (nā)* "I shall attain for us" (Ins.).

to be read **darəgō.jyāitīm*; adjective with *xšaθrām* (Ins.).

One word or two? *ā*: preposition "hin zu" (Bth., Lo.), or copulative "und" (Hum.).

The syntax of this verse presents few problems. Differences of opinion generally hinge on the different interpretations given to the word *avanhānē*. The etymological identity of the word with Ved. *avasāna*- "resting place (lit. 'unharnessing of horses')", whence "end, death",²³ led earlier scholars to translate the word as "Conclusion", which was understood in an eschatological sense.²⁴ This connotation was rejected by Lommel,²⁵ who believed that—as in Sanskrit—the word referred to the end of life's journey, and thus to the Prophet's own death. Lommel regarded the present passage as a Gathic reference to Sraoša's connection with death.²⁶ Hanns-Peter Schmidt²⁷ rejected the notion of a semantic identity of the Avestan word with Ved. *avasāna*-, on the grounds that a clear antithesis exists between what is invoked in Y.33.5, and what is rejected in the preceding verse (see further below), which led him to assume that Av. *avanhānē* represents the antithesis to the enumeration of sins found in Y.33.4. He postulated for *avanhāna*- a meaning "untying, loosening of the bonds of sin", which was accepted by Insler.

Kuiper's view that *zbayā* here is a 1st sg. pres. indicative rather than subjunctive, would imply that the words "I invoke" should either be regarded as a general statement here, or taken to refer to an action actually in progress.

Y.33.5, together with the preceding verse, appears to mark a transition from the general statements on the moral laws of the universe—such as the antithesis between good and evil, the recompense for the righteous, the wicked, and the indifferent, and the obligation to deal harshly with the wicked, but to be very good to the righteous—which are found in the first three verses of the hymn, and the following verses (v. 6 ff.), where Zarathustra describes himself in the capacity of a *zaotar* (v. 6) about to perform, or performing an act of worship (v. 8) which he invites the Entities to attend (v. 7).

²³ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Dict.*, 105.

²⁴ *AirWb*, 174.

²⁵ *RelZar*, 226.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 200.

²⁷ *art. cit.*, 160 ff.

In vv. 4 and 5, the Prophet appears to state his own position in the world of Mixture: acting as a priest, he will repel the forces of evil through worship. Thus he describes himself in v. 4 as: "I, o Wisdom, who shall turn away from Thee through worship disobedience and evil thought, and the recklessness of the family and the deceit, which is very near, of the community, and the scorners within the clan—and the worst counsellor away from the pasture of the cow", (*yā θwaṭ mazdā asruštīm akəmca manō yazāi apā / x'aētāušcā tarēmaitīm vərəzānahyācā nazdištqm *drujīm / airyamanascā nadəntō gēušcā vāstrāṭ acištəm mantūm*).

The verse under discussion (v. 5) apparently provides the antithesis to what is said in v. 4. As was seen above, however, the precise interpretation of the verse depends to a large extent on the meaning of *avanhānē*, and of the last two lines of the verse which may refer, as earlier scholars have suggested, to an eschatological event or to the Prophet's own death. In view, however, of Schmidt's interpretation of *avanhāna-* as "loosening (of the bonds of sin)", and of the antithesis to the previous verse which implies that the forces of evil are still abundantly present in Zarathustra's surroundings, as part of everyday life in the world of *gumēzišn*, it seems possible that the word *avanhānē* here refers to the sacred situation of the performance of the ritual which is described in the following verses and which, as the celebrants must be in a state of purity, might well be described as "the loosening (of the bonds of sin)". The expression "the straight paths where Lord Wisdom dwells" may also be interpreted in this sense: in Y.46.16, where Zarathustra invites Frašaoštra to take part in an act of worship, he bids him to come "where Devotion is accompanied by Righteousness, where Sovereignty is in the power of Good Thought, where Lord Wisdom dwells in maturity"²⁸ (*yaθrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš / yaθrā vanhāuš manahhō ištā xšaθrəm / yaθrā mazdā varədamqm šaēiti ahurō*). In Y.43.3, the "straight paths of strength, . . . the real heights(?)²⁹ on which the Lord dwells" (. . . *ərəzūš savaṇhō paθō haiθyāng *ā.stiš yāng *ā.šaēiti ahurō*), are qualified by the words "those of this corporeal existence and those of thought" (*ahyā anhāuš astvatō manahascā*), which appears to indicate that the straight paths can be reached in this life,³⁰ and lead to the Lord.

The description in Y.33.5 thus seems perfectly appropriate to the situation which obtains during a successful act of worship, when the celebrants are cut off from profane, everyday life and may well be said to find themselves "in the realm of Good Thought, on the straight paths on which Lord Wisdom dwells".

²⁸ So Insler, op. cit., 85, 274.

²⁹ So Insler, ibid.

³⁰ See also Geiger, *AmSp*, 177 (who takes the words in the present context to refer to the heavenly paths), and Kellens, *Sitr* 4, 1975, 155 ff.

If this is so, *sraoša-* (defined here in a sense by the opposite concept 'disobedience' (*asruštīm*) in v. 4, which Zarathustra will turn away from Lord Wisdom through worship; compare the previous passage, Y. 28.5, where the 'finding' of Harkening was associated with the intention of repelling the wicked through the power of the Sacred Word), is invoked as "the greatest of all" when the transition is made from profane conditions to a situation which is outside the normal human sphere, in which the Prophet will be directly in touch with the eternal. Although, if this verse were considered in isolation, an interpretation of the word *sraošem* as "(God's) Harkening to man" would make good sense here, the antithesis with *asruštīm* in the preceding verse, in combination with the result of our examination of Y. 28.5, suggests that the word here again denotes the personification of man's hearkening to the divine commands, the obediently attentive frame of mind which enables the Prophet to hear the word of the Lord. Harkening is presumably particularly needed at a time when normal human conditions no longer prevail, and man is brought directly into contact with the divine. It seems possible that it is especially under such conditions that the Prophet hopes to 'hear' the words of Lord Wisdom (cf. Y.33.6.c: *tā tōi *izyā ahurā mazdā darštōišcā hām. parštōišcā*, "through it, o Lord Wisdom, I desire to see Thee and to consult with Thee").

If, as was argued above, the terms used in this verse primarily refer to that 'loosening of the bonds of sin' which takes place during the act of worship, it seems possible in view of the Indian evidence, that the word *avanhāna-* may also have had associations with death. Whether or not this was in fact so, there may well be a connection between the fact that Harkening is invoked at a time when the human and the divine spheres meet, and Sraoša's role as a guardian of the soul which has just departed earthly life, as it is described in the later tradition.

A possible translation of Y.33.5 would then be:

"(I) who invoke all-greatest Harkening to Thee at the loosening (of the bonds of sin), when I have reached the long life, and the realm of Good Thought, the straight paths, in accordance with Righteousness, on which Lord Wisdom dwells."

Y.33.14

*aṭ rātqm zaraθuštrō tanvasciṭ x'ahyā uštānəm
dadāiti paurvatātəm manahascā vanhāuš mazdāi
šyaoθanahyā *ašāi.yācā uxδahyācā sraošem xšaθrəmcā*

TRANSLATIONS:

- Bartholomae,
Gathas, 38-9 "Als Weihgeschenk bringt Zarathuŝtra des eigenen Leibes Leben dar, die Auslese guten Denkens, Handelns und Redens dem Mazdāh, dem Aŝā, (und) den Gehorsam und die Herrschgewalt."
- Lommel,
Gathas, 77 "Nun gibt als Weihgabe Zarathuŝtra des eignen Leibes Lebenskraft, das Vorzüglichste des Guten Denkens dem Weisen und (was das Vorzüglichste) des Handelns (ist) dem Wahrsein sowie Gehorsam für das Wort, und Herrschaft."
- Humbach,
Gathas I, 104 "Zarathustra bringt dafür als Gabe den Lebensgeist seines eigenen Leibes / dem Kundigen dar, dazu die Vortrefflichkeit sowohl des guten Gedankens / als auch die, die in der Wirklichkeit durch Wahrhaftigkeit liegt, und Gehorsam gegenüber seinem Ausspruch und seine Macht."
- Insler,
Gathas, 53 "For Zarathustra does give even the breath of his own person as a gift, in order that there be for the Wise One predominance of good thinking along with (predominance) of the action and the word allied with truth, that there be obedience and His (good) rule."
- Hoffmann,
Aufsätze II, 653 "Nun als Gabe bestimmt Zarathustra die Lebenskraft des eigenen Leibes, das Höchste des guten Denkens, des Werkes und des Wortes dem Mazdā und dem Aŝā, (dazu) Gehorsam und Herrschaft."

POINTS OF DEBATE:

- ašā/ašāi*: *ašāi* (Gdn., Bth., Smi., Lo.); *ašā* (Hum., Ins.); *ašāi.yācā* = **ašāya-ca* (Hoffmann).
- səraošəm*: "Gehorsam", independent (Bth., Smi., Ins.); "Gehorsam" with *uxdaḥyā* (Lo., Hum.).

The interpretation of *yācā* as a nom. sg. fem. relative pronoun referring to *paurvatātəm* (cf. *AirWb*, 1213-4: "prioratum et bene cogitandi et (eum) qui (est) faciendi et dicendi"), has the obvious disadvantage that it necessitates a rather forced explanation of the nominative case, since *yācā* is surrounded by the accusatives *paurvatātəm* and *səraošəm xšaθrəmcā*. Hoffmann's solution, on the other hand, regarding *ašāi.yācā* as a corruption of an older dative **ašāya-ca*, appears to be entirely plausible. Since the single °*cā* after *uxdaḥyā* appears to link that word with *šyaoθanahyā*, as *səraošəm* is linked to *xšaθrəmcā*, it seems possible that the former pair is to be understood as qualifications of the latter, probably chastically, with *uxdaḥyācā* linked primarily to *səraošəm* and *šyaoθanahyā* to *xšaθrəm*:

"Then Zarathustra will give the life-breath of his own body, and the excellence of good thought, to Wisdom and to Righteousness, and the obedience and sovereignty of the deed and the word."

In this verse — the last of the hymn and preceded by a series of entreaties to the Entities to hearken to the Prophet and have mercy upon him (*sraotā mōi mərəždātā mōi*, v. 11.c), to come to him, partake of his offerings and be strengthened by them (v. 12), and to reveal the Lord's "incomparable qualities" (*abifrā*, v. 13.a)³¹ — Zarathustra pledges his complete devotion to the divinities by offering as a gift those qualities which he has acquired during his life as a priest. These qualities he describes in terms used elsewhere as proper names of the Entities, thus showing his awareness of the fundamental identity of the concepts embodied by the Entities with the qualities which man can realize in his own life.

səraošəm appears to be qualified primarily by *uxdaḥyācā*³² and denotes, it seems, the quality of 'obedience' (i.e. of 'hearkening to the divine command'), as it is manifested in Zarathustra's utterances.

Y.43.12

hyaṭcā mōi mraoš ašəm jasō frāxšnənē
aṭ tū mōi nōiṭ asruštā pairyaoyžā
**uzirəidyāi parā hyaṭ mōi ā.jimaṭ*
səraošō ašī maqzā.rayā hacimnō
*yā vi ašīš *rənōibyō savōi [vi]dāyāṭ*

TRANSLATIONS:

- Bartholomae,
Gathas, 52-3 "Und als Du mir sagtest: 'Zu Aŝa sollst du kommen, um unterwiesen zu werden', da befahlst Du, nicht ohne dass ich gehorchte: 'Mach dich auf, bevor dass mein Sraoša kommt im Verein mit der schätzereichen Aŝay, die als Belohnungen an die beiden Parteien den Nutzen und den Schaden verteilen wird.'"
- Lommel,
Gathas, 99 "Und als du zu mir sagtest: Zum Wahrsein gehe, um zu erkennen, da hast du mir nichts geheissen, dem ich nicht gehorchte, (nämlich) mich aufzumachen, bevor zu mir käme der Gehorsam (Sraoša), gefolgt von der schätzereichen Vergeltung, welche als Vergeltungen an beide Parteien Heil und Verderben verteilen wird."
- Humbach,
Gathas I, 114 "Und wenn du zu mir sagst: "Zur Wahrhaftigkeit gelangst du in Umsicht", / so sagst du mir das, nicht ohne mich erhört zu haben: / Aufstehen will ich, noch bevor die Erhörung zu mir gelangt / im Verein mit der Reichtum verleihenden Anteils-spendung, / die die Anteile verteilen wird, um die Beine zu kräftigen."

³¹ So Humbach, op. cit. I, 103.

³² Cf. also *Yt*.13.88: *uxdaḥyāca sraošəm xšaθrəmcā*, where *uxdaḥyāca* appears to qualify both *sraošəm* and *xšaθrəm*.

Insler,
Gathas, 65

"However, that Thou didst say to me: 'Thou hast come to Truth in thy discernment; moreover, thou hast never contradicted Me in disobedience', it was for me to arise before obedience was to come to me accompanied by a wealth-granting reward, (for it is obedience) according to which one should distribute rewards to both factions at the time of (our) salvation."

POINTS OF DEBATE:

<i>mraoš:</i>	"you said" (Bth., Smi., Lo., Ins.); "du sagst" (Hum.).
<i>jasō:</i>	"du sollst kommen" (Bth.); "Go!" (Smi., Lo.); "du kommst" (Hum.); "thou hast come" (Ins.).
<i>frāxšnānē:</i>	"um unterwiesen zu werden" (Bth.); "to teach" (Smi.); "um zu erkennen" (Lo.); "in Umsicht" (Hum., Ins.).
<i>asruštā</i>	"(nicht) ohne dass ich gehorchte" (Bth., Lo.); "(things which were) (not) disobeyed" (Smi.); "ohne mich erhört zu haben" (Hum.); "in disobedience" (Ins.).
<i>səraošō:</i>	"Sraoša" (Bth.); "Gehorsam" (Smi., Lo., Ins.); "Erhörung" (Hum.).
<i>savōi:</i>	"Nutzen und Schaden" (Bth.); "rewards" (Smi., Lo.); "zur Kraftspende" (Hum. I, 21: = * <i>suvai</i>); "at the time of salvation" (Ins.: loc. of <i>sava</i> -).
<i>rānōibyo:</i>	"to both parties" (Bth., Smi., Lo., Ins.); "die Beine" (Hum.).

Some difference of opinion exists here as to which parts of the verse were spoken by Ahura Mazdā, and which by the Prophet. As far as the immediate context of the word *səraošō* is concerned, however, only Bartholomae ascribes the sentence *uziraidyāi parā hyaṭ mōi ā.jimaṭ* . . . , to Ahura Mazdā. In view of the dative *mōi*, which has a parallel in Y.44.16.d,e: *aṭ hōi vohū səraošō jantū mananḥā / mazdā ahmāi yahmāi* . . . (q.v.), and of *uziraidyāi*, which in Y.43.14.d is clearly used by Zarathustra to express his own intention to 'arise' (so Bth., 53), the majority view has greater plausibility.

The syntactical function of the words *nōiṭ asruštā*, however, presents a problem. Humbach's translation "(nicht) ohne mich erhört zu haben" (said by the Prophet to Lord Wisdom), seems unconvincing. It seems improbable that Zarathustra would use in relation to Lord Wisdom—albeit with a negation—a term like *asrušti-* which, in all other Gathic contexts, has such connotations of evil. Insler's solution, which attributes the words "thou hast never contradicted me in disobedience" to Ahura Mazdā, hardly appears to fit in with his translation of the next line: "it was for me to arise before obedience was to come to me . . .". If Lord Wisdom is said to have praised the Prophet for his lack of disobedience (and therefore, presumably, for his obedience) in one line, it would seem illogical for Zarathustra to speak of the necessity to "arise before obedience was to come to me", in the next.

In view of the fact that *frāxšnānē* and *asruštā* are both locatives, and may therefore have a similar function in the sentence, and as the words *nōiṭ asruštā*

occur just before the coming of *səraošā-* is mentioned, it seems possible to take *nōiṭ asruštā* as an object clause depending on *pairyaoyzā*: "And when Thou didst say to me: 'to Righteousness you come in discernment', then Thou didst (also) command 'not in disobedience'". These words would then be followed logically by the declaration "(I shall) arise, before *səraošā-* will come to me". The meaning of the first two lines of the verse would then seem to be that, apart from 'discernment'—which may well denote an intellectual activity—the proper frame of mind, "Hearkening", is also indispensably necessary in order to "come to Righteousness". It will be remembered in this context that in Y.28.5, the finding of Hearkening appeared to be regarded as a necessary condition for "seeing Righteousness".

In view of the association with Aši, here clearly described as a divinity, it seems proper to interpret *səraošō*, too, as a proper name in this context (cf. above, p. 8).

Important in the preceding verses of this hymn are the opposition between good and evil (vv. 4,5), Zarathustra's adherence to the former and hostility to the latter (v. 8), the rewards which will be meted out (vv. 1,4,5), and Zarathustra's quest for Righteousness (v. 10). While the last two themes are explicitly present in v. 12, the Prophet's hostility towards the adherents of the forces of evil seems to be referred to by implication. If, as seems likely in two verses occurring so closely together, the same actions are denoted by the word *uziraidyāi* here and in v. 14.d,e (**uziraidyāi* **azē saradanā sēnghahyā / maṭ tāiš vispāiš yōi tōi maθrā marantī*, "(I shall) arise, to drive away those who scorn the teaching, together with all those who are mindful of Thy *maθras*"), the coming of Hearkening is again expected to take place when those who are mindful of the Sacred Word have defeated the ones who scorn it.

Səraošā's connection with Aši, the divinity of the reward, which is reflected in the later tradition by the frequent use of the epithet *ašya*-³³ with his name, may have contributed towards the development of *Sraošā*'s role as a judge in later stages of the religion.

The meaning of the word *savōi*, which Insler translates as "at the time of our salvation", and which he interprets as a reference to the final judgement,³⁴ is not sufficiently assured to admit of any conclusions to be drawn from it.

The verse as a whole could then be rendered as follows:

"And when Thou didst say to me: 'to Righteousness dost thou come in discernment', then Thou didst (also) command me: 'not in disobedience'. (I shall)

³³ Cf. below, Ch. II, Y.57 n. 1.¹⁸.

³⁴ op. cit., 238.

arise before Harkening will come to me, accompanied by Reward, having great riches, who will distribute the rewards to both factions at the time of benefit(?)³⁵."

Y.44.16

taṭ θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā
kā *vərəθram *jā θwā pōi sēnghā yōi hantī
ciθrā mōi dām *ahūm.biš *ratūm ciždī
aṭ hōi vohū sərəošō jantū mananḥā
mazdā ahmāi yahmāi vaši kahmāiciṭ

TRANSLATIONS:

Bartholomae,
Gathas, 63

"Danach frag ich Dich—gib mir rechte Kunde, o Ahura!—: Wer ist es, der siegreich nach Deinem Wort die Seienden beschirmen soll? Durch ein Gesicht versprich mir den das Leben heilenden Richter zu bestimmen! Und bei Jedem soll Gehorsam vor ihm samt gutem Sinn sich einstellen, o Mazdāh, dem Du es wünschest."

Lommel,
Gathas, 114

"Das frage ich dich, sag mir's recht, o Herr, wer ist der Siegreiche, dass er nach deinem Wort beschütze die Lebenden? Durch ein deutliches (Zeichen) verheisse mir, o Lebensheiler, einen Obman aufzustellen. Dann soll mit Gutem Denken Sraoša (Gehorsam) kommen, o Weiser, zu einem jeden, welchem immer du es wünschest."

Humbach,
Gathas I, 121

"Danach frage ich dich, sag es mir ehrlich, o Lebensherr: / Wer bricht den Widerstand, um durch deine Verkündigung den Lebenden Schutz zu spenden? / Einen Vollstrecker bestimme mir, der mir glänzende Dinge gibt, o Weltheiler! / So soll dem durch guten Gedanken Erhörung zuteil werden, / o Kundiger, von dem auch immer du es willst."

Insler,
Gathas, 71

"This I ask Thee. Tell me truly, Lord. Who shall smash the obstacle (of deceit) in order to protect, in accord with Thy teaching, those pure ones who exist in my house? As world-healer, promise us a judge, and let obedience come through good thinking, to him whomsoever Thou dost wish him to be, Wise One."

POINTS OF DEBATE:

ciθrā:

"durch ein Gesicht" (Bth.; cf. *AirWb*, 586: "manifestus, offenbar, klar, sichtbar, augenfällig", here: "Vision"); "durch ein deutliches Zeichen" (Lo.); "glänzende Dinge" (Hum.); "(those) pure ones" (Ins.).

³⁵ Cf. *AirWb*, 1561. The word "benefit" seems more neutral than Insler's "salvation".

dām:

infin. "zu Bestimmen, aufzustellen" (Bth., Lo.); "der...gibt" (Hum.; cf. Hum.II, 58: "das unkomponierte Wurzelnomen findet sich auch in *dām*, das als Attribut zu *ratūm* gehört, von dem *ciθrā* als Objekt abhängig ist"); "in (my) house" (Ins.; cf. Y.48.7, *θwāhmī ā dām* "in Thy house").

ahūm.biš:

as part of compound *ahūm.biš.ratav-* "der das Leben heilende Richter" (Bth.; cf. *AirWb*, 295); "o Lebensheiler, Weltheiler" (Lo., Hum.); "as world-healer" (Ins.).

sərəošō:

"Gehorsam" (Bth., Ins.); "Sraoša (Gehorsam)" (Lo.); "Erhörung" (Hum.).

Y.44.16 is the last, and in a sense the culmination, of a series of verses in which the Prophet questions Lord Wisdom about the identity of the good and the wicked (v. 12), about the proper way to deal with Deceit (vv. 13,14), and about the eventual clash between the "two armies" (v. 15). The allusion to the coming of *səraoša-* is preceded by references to the repulsion of Deceit with the help of the Sacred Word: "How shall we repel Deceit away from us, towards those, full of disobedience, who..." (*kaθā drujəm niš ahmaṭ ā [niš] nāšāmā / tēng ā avā yōi asrušōiṣ pərənāḥō*, v. 13.b,c), and "How shall I deliver Deceit into the hands of Righteousness, in order to destroy it through the *maθras* of Thy teaching" (*kaθā ašāi drujəm dyqm zastayō / nī him mərəždyāi θwāhyā maθrāiṣ sēnghahyā*, v. 14.b,c). In v. 15, the Prophet speaks of the clash between the "two armies", and concludes with the apparently half-rhetorical question: "to which of the two, to whom wilt Thou give victory?" (*kuθrā ayā kahmāi vananqm dadā*).

In view of the rhetorical element in v. 15 and elsewhere in this hymn (e.g. v. 12), it seems possible that the question "Who will break the resistance" in v. 16 is to be regarded as an oblique way of expressing the hope that it is Zarathustra himself who will bring about this feat, rather than as an inquiry after a future Saviour. If this is true, the word *ratūm*, which is traditionally explained as denoting a personal "Judge", might more aptly be taken to mean a "judgement", or its fulfilment ("Urteilsvollstreckung"),³⁶ showing or bringing about the proper order of things, in this case the ultimate victory of good over evil.

The close parallel, both in form and meaning, between the allusions to the coming of *səraoša-* here and in Y.43.12, makes it probable that the word *səraošō* is used as a proper name here.

As in the passages discussed above, the coming of the *Yazata* Harkening is thus represented here as an event expected to take place when the forces of

³⁶ For the meaning "judgement" for *ratu-*, see J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Exégèse de l'Ahuna Vairya", *IJJ* 2, 1958, 67, 68. For the meaning "Urteilsvollstreckung", see Humbach, *Gathas* I, e.g. p. 100 (Y.33.1).

evil have been defeated in a conflict—or conflicts—apparently taking place on earth, in which the Sacred Word plays a decisive role.

Whether the words “to him, whomever Thou dost wish” at the end of the verse imply that Harkening is expected to come to the Prophet alone or rather that, when the resistance has been broken and evil has been relegated to its proper place, a large number of people may be blessed by his presence, cannot be inferred from the context.

If these observations are correct, the verse could be translated as follows:

“This I ask Thee, answer me truly, Lord. Who will break the resistance in order to protect those who are, in accordance with Thy teaching? Show me a judgement which will give me splendid things, o Healer of Existence. Then may Harkening come with Good Thought, Wisdom, to him, whomever Thou dost wish.”

Y.45.5

*aṭ fravaxšyā hyaṭ mōi mraoṭ spəntō.təmō
vacē srūidyāi hyaṭ marətaēibyō vahištəm
yōi mōi ahmāi səraošəm dən cayascā
upā.jimən haurvātā amərətātā
vanhəuš *mainyēuš šyaoθanāiš mazdā ahurō*

TRANSLATIONS:

Bartholomae, <i>Gathas</i> , 70	“Ich will reden von dem, was (er,) der heiligste mir genannt hat als das Wort, das den Menschen zu hören das beste ist, (indem er sagte): ‘Die mir Gehorsam schenken, all die sollen zu <i>Harvatāt</i> und <i>Amərətāt</i> gelangen durch das Wirken des guten Geistes, — (er,) <i>Mazdāh Ahura</i> .”
Lommel, <i>Gathas</i> , 125	“Also will ich verkünden, was mir der sehr verständige, nämlich der Weise Herr, sagte, ein Wort, das zu hören für die Menschen sehr gut ist; die welche nur immer mir dafür Gehör geben, werden zu Heilsein und Nichtsterben gelangen durch die Taten des Guten Geistes.”
Humbach, <i>Gathas</i> I, 125	“Verkünden will ich das Wort, das mir der Heilvollste gesagt hat, / damit ich es höre, das Wort, das den Menschen das frommendste ist. / Diejenigen, die mir hier Gehorsam und Ehrfurcht erweisen, sollen Gesundheit und Lebenskraft erlangen. / Als Kundiger zeigt sich um der Werke des guten Strebens willen der Lebensherr.”
Insler, <i>Gathas</i> , 75	“Now, I shall speak of what the most virtuous one told me, that word which is to be heard as the best for men: ‘Those of you who shall give obedience and regard to this (Lord) of mine, they shall reach completeness and immortality. The Wise One is Lord through such actions stemming from good spirit’.”

POINTS OF DEBATE:

<i>mōi ahmāi:</i>	“to me for it (i.e. the word)” (Bth., Smi., Lo.); “mir hier” (Hum.); “to this (Lord) of mine” (Ins.).
<i>cayascā:</i>	“quicunque” (Jackson, <i>AvGram</i> , 116-7; Bth., Smi., Lo.); “and regard” (Hum., Ins.).
<i>mazdā ahurō:</i>	in apposition to <i>spəntō.təmō</i> (Bth., Lo.); nominal sentence, with <i>mazdā</i> as predicate of <i>ahurō</i> (Hum.); id., with <i>ahurō</i> as predicate of <i>mazdā</i> (Ins.).

In the first two verses of this hymn, the Prophet speaks of the fundamental opposition between the Good and Evil Spirits (v. 2), and of the dangers of abusing the powers of the Sacred Word: “May not the One of evil doctrine destroy existence a second time, the Wicked One, (as one who is) invited³⁷ by (my) tongue” (*nōiṭ daibitīm duš.sastiš ahūm mərəšyāṭ / akā varanā drəgvā *hizvā āvərətō*, v. 1.d,e). The dangers of a disobedient attitude towards the Sacred Word and to him who speaks it are further discussed in v. 3: “Now I shall proclaim the foundation of this existence; those of you who do not bring to realization³⁸ that *maθra* which³⁹ the knowing Lord Wisdom has spoken to me, even as I shall think it and speak it, for them the last of existence will be (the word) ‘Woe’” (*aṭ fravaxšyā anhəuš ahyā *paourvīm / *yqm mōi vidvā mazdā vaocaṭ ahurō / yōi im vā nōiṭ iθā maθrəm varəšənti / yaθā im mənāicā vaocacā / aēibyō anhəuš avōi anhaṭ apōmem*).

Verse 5, which seems to be a direct antithesis to v. 3, then describes the rewards of obedience:

“Now I shall proclaim what the Most Bounteous One told me, (may you) hear the word which is best for men. Those who shall bring into existence hearkening and respect to me for it, they shall attain to Wholeness and Immortality. Through the actions of Good Thought, Wisdom is Lord.”

Although *səraošəm* is probably to be regarded as a common noun here (cf. above, p. 9), the context in which it occurs is strikingly similar to those where the word was interpreted as a proper name: those who bring into existence (*dən*) hearkening to the Prophet for the word which Lord Wisdom has spoken to him, are described in contrast with the disobedient, who do not bring to realization the *maθra* as Zarathustra will think it and speak it, and appropriate recompense will follow for both groups.

Thus *səraoša-*, a concept which contains elements of ‘hearkening’ and ‘obedience’, is to be rendered unto him who knows the Sacred Word,

³⁷ So Humbach, op. cit., 124.

³⁸ So Insler, op. cit., 75.

³⁹ For this interpretation of *yqm*, see Humbach, op. cit., II, 62.

presumably because he has found Harkening to Lord Wisdom (cf. Y.28.5; 33.5, and the phrase "the *maθra* which the knowing Lord Wisdom has spoken to me", Y.45.3). A strong similarity thus exists between the connotations of the word *səraoša-* as used in this verse, and Sraoša's function as a mediator between heaven and earth through the power of the *Maθra*, and his special link with priests as described in the Younger Avesta and the Pahlavi books (cf. Ch. II, e.g. Y.57.1-8; Ch. III, *passim*).

Y.46.17

yaθrā vā afšmāni sēnghāni
nōiṭ anafšmaq dājamāspā hvō.gvā
hadā vōstā vahmāng səraoša rādanhō
yē vicinaoṭ dāθamcā adāθamcā
dangrā mantū aša mazdā ahurō

TRANSLATIONS:

Bartholomae,
Gathas, 80

"wo ich nur eure Nachteile melden will—nicht die Vorteile—
 o Jāmāspa Hvōgva, (und) samt eurem Gehorsam die Gebete
 eurer Bereitwilligkeit, bei ihm, der den Klugen und den Un-
 klugen scheiden wird durch seinen kundigen Berater Aša, er,
 MazdāhAhura."

Smith,
Syntax, 128

"where I will make known your merits, not (your) demerits,
 O Jāmāspa Hvāgva, your invocations together with that obe-
 dience of readiness (to him) who has discriminated between
 both the wise-man and the foolish-man through the prudent
 counsellor—justice, (namely) the wise Ahura."

Lommel,
Gathas, 135

"(Dort) wo ich eure Verdienste verkünden will, nicht eure
 Schuld, o Jāmāspa Hvōgva, (und) diese eure Gebete samt
 (eurem) Gehorsam aus Bereitwilligkeit, (dem verkünden) der
 den Gerechten und den Ungerechten unterschied durch seinen
 klugen Berater, durch das Wahrsein: (das ist) der Weise Herr."
 "wo ich für euch Verse verkünden will, / nicht Unverse, o
 Jāmāspa Hvōgva, / für euch Verherrlichungen im Gehorsam
 gegenüber der huldvollen Anordnung, / dem gesellt, der Ge-
 rechte und Ungerechte voneinander scheidet / durch weisen
 Ratschluss und durch Wahrhaftigkeit als Kundiger Lebens-
 herr."

Humbach,
Gathas I, 134

"Hither, where, o Jamaspa Haugva, I shall declare to you in
 verse—not in non-verse—in total inspiration and with obe-
 dience, the glories of Him who offers solicitude (to us), the
 Wise Lord who, together with His clever advisor, truth, has
 judged the just and the unjust."

Insler,
Gathas, 85

POINTS OF DEBATE:

<i>vā</i> :	with <i>afšmāni</i> (Bth., Smi., Lo.); with <i>sēnghāni</i> (Hum., Ins.).
<i>afšmāni/anašmaq</i> :	"Nachteile/Vorteile" (Bth.); "merits/demerits" (Smi., Lo.); "verses/non-verses" (Hum., Ins.).
<i>vōstā</i> :	= <i>vā</i> + (<i>s</i>) + <i>tā</i> , (Bth., Smi., Lo., Hum.). <i>tā</i> qualifies <i>vahmāng</i> (Lo.); <i>tā</i> goes with <i>səraoša</i> (Smi.); <i>tā</i> anticipates <i>yē vicinaoṭ</i> (Bth., Hum.). <i>hadā.vōstā</i> is loc. sg. of * <i>hadā.vasti</i> - "total inspiration" (Ins.).
<i>rādanhō</i> :	"of readiness", with <i>vahmāng</i> (Bth.), with <i>səraoša</i> (Smi.); "gegenüber der huldvollen Anordnung", with <i>səraoša</i> , (Hum.); "of Him who offers solicitude", with <i>vahmāng</i> , (Ins.).
<i>mantū</i> :	"Berater" (Bth., Smi., Lo., Ins.); "Ratschluss" (Hum.).

In the latter half of this hymn (v. 12 ff.) we find Zarathustra at the court of Vištāspa. Of the preceding verses, vv. 15 and 16 appear to be significant for the understanding of the passage under discussion: in v. 15 the Prophet warns the Haēcaṭaspas of the Spitama-family, that they should "distinguish between the just and the unjust ones" (*hyaṭ dāθāng vicayaθā adāθascā*); in v. 16 he summons Frašaoštra, together with "the sincere ones" (*aradrāiš*), to come, presumably, to the place of worship "where Devotion is accompanied by Righteousness, where Sovereignty is in the power of Good Thought, where in maturity,⁴⁰ Lord Wisdom dwells" (*yaθrā aša hacaitē ārmaitiš / yaθrā vanhāuš mananhō ištā xšaθrēm / yaθrā mazdā varədamaqm šaēitī ahurō*). The sequence of lines beginning with *yaθrā*, is continued in v. 17: "where I shall pronounce verses⁴¹ for you, not un-verses, Jāmāspā Hvō.gva".

The earlier interpretations of the following three lines, which took *yē* to refer to an implied **ahmāi* ("where I shall pronounce verses to him, who..."), seem less convincing than those of Humbach and Insler. Of the latter two, Humbach's explanation is perhaps more plausible than Insler's, which regards *hadā.vōstā* as "a mistake for orig. **hadā.vasti*",⁴² which would itself be a *hapax legomenon*.

A translation along the lines proposed by Humbach yields satisfactory sense: the notion that, because of hearkening, the prayers pronounced by Zarathustra will be proper verses, and therefore acceptable to, and in a sense accompanied by Lord Wisdom (which would attribute to 'hearkening' the role of a mediating force between God and man), would accord well with our previous findings about *səraoša-*. The exact function of *rādanhō* would, however, appear to be open to question: despite the link between *səraoša-* and

⁴⁰ Cf. above, n. 28.

⁴¹ On YAv. *afšman-*, with which GAv. *afšman-* is generally held to be identical, cf. below, Ch. II, Y.57 n. 8.²

⁴² Insler, op. cit., 274.

the root *srav-* found in Y.28.7.c (**srāvīmā *rādā*),⁴³ in the present context the word may equally well be a qualification of *vahmāng* ("prayers in praise of the merciful dispensation"; cf. Y.46.13.a,b: "He who, through the merciful dispensation, satisfies Spitama Zarathustra among men, that man is worthy of being famed", *yā spitāmam zaraθuštrəm rādanhā / marətaēšū xšnāuš hvō nā *frasrūidyāi *arəθwō*).

The only point in Humbach's syntactical analysis which seems forced is his interpretation of **tā* as an independent pronoun functioning as antecedent to *yā*; as *səraoša*, agreeing with **tā* in case, occurs in the intervening half-verse, the possibility that the words **tā... səraoša* could be taken together as antecedent to *yā* would, from a purely formal point of view, seem worth considering. The overriding objection to such a translation has always been that *mazdā ahurō* was thought to stand in apposition to the antecedent of *yā*. Since these words cannot stand in apposition to *səraoša*, such an analysis would preclude the possibility of directly linking *səraoša* with *yā vīcinaot*.

In view, however, of Y.45.5 (q.v.), where the line *vanhēuš *mainyēuš šyaoθanāiš mazdā ahurō*, was convincingly explained by both Humbach and Insler as a nominal sentence, the last line of the present verse, which shows the same grammatical structure (instrumental followed by the words *mazdā ahurō*), might well be interpreted in the same way. This would remove the objections referred to above, and allow one to translate:

"Where I shall pronounce verses for you, not un-verses, Jāmāspā Hvō.gva, prayers in praise of the merciful dispensation, together with that Harkening/hearkening, who/which discriminates between the just and the unjust. Through his wise counsellor, Righteousness, Wisdom is Lord."

Whether the word *səraoša-* is to be regarded here as the proper name of the divinity or as a common noun referring to Zarathustra's own 'hearkening', seems impossible to determine. The word seems to denote the sense of religious 'obedience', or its divine personification, which is present when the Sacred Word is properly uttered (presumably because it was originally rightly 'heard'), and which enables one to distinguish between the just and the unjust. If the above analysis of the verse is correct, it would seem that the Gathic concept *səraoša-* already had a strong connotation of 'ability to discriminate between right and wrong', which may have played a major role in the development of *Sraoša*'s function as a judge of the soul (cf. above, p. 21). The same powers of discrimination may be implied when *səraoša-* is said to be present when 'verses', as opposed to 'un-verses', are pronounced.

⁴³ Cf. Humbach, op. cit. II, 73.

From what went before, it seems clear that the word *səraoša-* is used in the *Gāthās* in such a way that it is not always possible to determine whether the abstract 'hearkening', or the proper name of the divinity is meant. This ambiguity is particularly clear in Y.46.17 (q.v.), but in a passage such as Y.33.5, where philological considerations make it likely that *səraoša* is a proper name, the word still appears to be qualified by **tē* ("Harkening to Thee"), in the same way as the abstract might have been. It seems justifiable, therefore, to conclude that in the *Gāthās*, concept and divinity were still felt to be very closely linked.

In the two passages where the word is most probably used as a common noun (Y.33.14; 45.5), *səraoša-* almost certainly denotes men's 'hearkening' to the divine word. As it would seem plausible to assume that the basic meaning of the name of the divinity is identical with that of the common noun, and as this interpretation is consistent with the way in which the word is used where it apparently occurs as a proper noun, it seems that the name *Səraoša* is also to be understood as "Harkening (to the divine word)".

While the faithful are enjoined to bring into existence hearkening to Zarathustra for the Word which Lord Wisdom has spoken to him (Y.45.5), the Prophet is clearly aware that Harkening must come to him before he can find Righteousness (Y.28.5; 43.12). In view of the central role which terms of 'seeing' play in descriptions of the process of inspiration of the Vedic poets,⁴⁴ one may perhaps surmise that the faculty of 'hearing'—conveying to him the words of Lord Wisdom—had a similar function for Zarathustra. As the word *səraoša-* appears to be most frequently used, however, in contrast to terms or descriptions which imply not merely the absence of inspiration, but rather the indwelling quality of 'non-hearkening', or 'disobedience' (*asrušti-*), it seems that it denotes not only 'inspiration' but also, and perhaps primarily, the mentality which enables the Prophet to receive that inspiration, viz. a readiness to hearken and obey. The same mentality apparently prompts his followers to listen to him. Harkening thus links God, Prophet and believers.

Harkening is invoked when the Prophet leaves the profanity of everyday life and finds himself in direct contact with the divine, probably during the act of worship (Y.33.5). This appears to be consistent with the assumption that *Səraoša* was associated with inspiration and thus in a sense had the function of a mediator between the human and divine spheres.

The coming of *Səraoša* is represented as an event which is expected to take place when the righteous have defeated the forces of evil (Y.28.5; 33.5; 43.12;

⁴⁴ See Gonda, *Vision, passim*. That 'hearing' also played a role in this process is suggested by RV.6.9.6: "Meine Ohren fliegen auf, mein Auge (geht) auf, es (geht) dieser Licht auf, das ins Herz gesetzt ist" (trsl. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda* II, Cambridge Mass./London, repr. 1978, 102). Information I owe to Professor Witzel.

44.16). This may perhaps be understood to mean that perfect 'hearkening' will be possible only when "the resistance has been broken" (Y.44.16), and men will be wholly receptive to God's commands. Sēraoša's concern with the battle between good and evil on earth presupposes a strong element of discrimination in his character, which is perhaps explicitly referred to in Y.46.17 and indirectly, by stressing Sēraoša's link with Aši, divinity of the Reward, in Y.43.12.

It seems possible therefore, to define GAv. *sēraoša-* as "the concept, or divine personification of 'hearkening to the divine word'", i.e. the obedient frame of mind which enables one to hear the divine command (either directly, as in Zarathustra's case, or through a prophet or priest), and which finds expression, on the other hand, in the intention of defeating the forces of evil, thereby carrying out the divine command while using the Sacred Word as one of the principal instruments.

The most important functions which are attributed to Sraoša in the later tradition appear to be subtly alluded to in the *Gāthās*: his link with the Sacred Word, his role as a mediator between this world and the sphere of the divinities, his close connection with the battle between good and evil as it is fought on earth, his powers of discrimination between right and wrong, and his partnership with Aši, can all be found in the *Gāthās*, evolving logically from the basic concept of "Hearkening to the word of God".

APPENDIX

THE PAHLAVI TRANSLATIONS

Phl.Y.28.5:

*Ašwahišt kay tō wēnēm pad hān ī Wahman āgāh-dahišnih [ēn dānēm kū-t andar hān zamān wēnēm ka harw kas pad frārōnih āgāh, bē kay bawēd]. ud gāh-iz ī Ohrmazd [kay wēnēm] ī sūd-xwāstār [, hān gāh] ī pad Srōš [dānihēd] [kū ka dastwar dārēnd šāyēd dānistan kū nekīh az hān gāh cē.] hān mānsar ī mahist ā-š wurrōyēnišn dahišn ōy kē xrad-stard ēstēd pad uzwān [ōy-iz kē xrad-stard ēstēd ā-š tis-*ē *ēn¹ pahlom ka hērbdestān kunēd].*

"Ašwahišt, when shall I see you through the enlightenment of Wahman [I know this, that I shall see you at that time when everyone is aware of² uprightness, but³ when will it be?]; and the place of Ohrmazd [when shall I see it?], who is desirous of welfare;

¹ Reading MND'M-1 ŽNH.

² *pad...* āgāh "aware of"? Any other translation would seem meaningless.

³ On *bē* as an adversative conjunction see Brunner, *SyntWMIr*, 231, §22.9.

that place [which will be known] through Srōš [i.e. when they have a *dastwar* they may know what the goodness from that place is]. That greatest Sacred Word must cause him to believe, who is confounded in reason, with the tongue [and he who is confounded in reason, the best thing for him is this, that⁴ he attend priestly school]."

Phl.Y.33.5:

rasišn hān ī az harwispān mahist rāy [tan ī pasēn rāy] Srōš xwānišn hē ō hayyārih. bē-m ayābēnē pad dagr-ziwišnih hān ī pad xwadāyih ī Wahman [kū-m hān tis ma dahād ī pad tan ī pasēn abāz abāyēnd ōzad]. az ahlāyih [ēdōn az frārōnih] hān ī abēzag rāh [ō xwēš kunišn] kū andar hān Ohrmazd mānēd.

"For the coming of that which is greatest of all [for the 'future body'], you, Srōš, are to be invoked for help. You shall make me obtain in the long life that which is under the sovereignty of Wahman [i.e. may he not give me that thing which they will have to kill again in the 'future-body']. According to righteousness [thus according to uprightness] the pure path [is to be made one's own] on which Ohrmazd dwells."

Phl.Y.33.14:

ēdōn pad rādih kē Zardušt hēm tan hān-iz ī xwēš gyān dahēm pad pēš-rawišnih [pad pēšōbāyih] ō Wahman ud Ohrmazd-iz; pad kunišn ō Ašwahišt [kū kunišn hān kunēm ī Ašwahišt abāyēd] ud saxwan-niyōxšidārīh ō Šahrewar [ēk andar did-ē].

"Thus in generosity I, who am Zarathustra, offer my body and my own soul in pre-eminence [in leadership] to Wahman and also to Ohrmazd; in actions to Ašwahišt [i.e. I shall perform those actions which it is proper (to perform) for Ašwahišt], and (my) hearing of the word to Šahrewar [the one (is implicit) in the other]."

Phl.Y.43.12:

*kē-z-tān ō man guft kū-t ō ahlāyih rasišn was, ēdōn tō nē az hān ī man aniyōxšidārīh abar guft [nē aniyōxšidārīh ī man rāy būd ka-tān ēd guft kū *'wkwn dādan nē šāyēd], ul uzišnih pēš az hān tā ka ō man rasēd Srōšahlāy [Wištāsp] kē-š hān meh Rad abāg [Zardušt] kē bē rāst ō pahikārdārān sūd dahēd [hān Wištāsp].*

"And also that one of you (pl.) who told me: 'you should come to righteousness often', you (sg.) did not speak thus to me because of heedlessness of mine [it was not because of (any) heedlessness of mine that you (pl.) said this, that it was not proper to give⁵]; I am to rise up⁶ before (and) until the time when righteous Srōš [Wištāsp] will come to me, with whom (comes) the great Master [Zarathustra], [that Wištāsp], who will rightly give profit to the contestants."

⁴ lit.: "when"; cf. Brunner, *SyntWMIr*, 242.

⁵ ? Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 49), reads *ōknū* "now, at present", which does not appear to make good sense here.

⁶ lit.: "going out upward".

Phl.Y.44.16:

*hān i az tō pūrsēm rāst ō man gōwē Ohrmazd. kē pad pērōzgarīh i-š ast zadār [i wināhgarārān] pad ēd i tō *pānagih⁷ hammōxtišnih [kū pad dēn i tō pādīfrāh i wināhgarārān kē kunēd?]. Pad paydāgih ō man dahišn i dāmān ud andar harw dō axwān radih cāšīnih [rōšnag kū ēdār ud anōh-iz pad dastwar dārišn hēm]. Ēdōn hān i weh Srōš [Wištāsp] ā-š rasišn pad Wahman [kū pad Wahman bē ō dēn āyēd]. Ohrmazd hān-am i ōy kāmāg [kū-m rasišn i Sōšyāns abāyēd] kē hān i ōy kāmāg kadār-iz-ē [kū harw kas ōh abāyēd].*

"That which I ask you, tell me rightly, Ohrmazd. Who (is it), in victoriousness, who is the smiter thereof [of the sinners], through this teaching of protection of yours [i.e. in your religion, who will punish the sinners?]. The teaching about the *Ratu*-ship of the creatures in both states of existence should manifestly be attributed to me. [It is obvious that here and there I am to be recognized as *dastwar*]. Thus the good Srōš [Wištāsp] will come to him through Wahman [i.e. he will come to the religion through Wahman]. Ohrmazd, I have longing for him [i.e. I need the coming of the Sōšyāns], for whom anyone whatever (has) longing [i.e. everyone needs that⁸]."

Phl.Y.45.5:

ēdōn frāz gōwišn kē-š ō man guft ōy i abzōnīgdom [dastwar dāštan]. gōwišn ud srāyīšn-dahišn kē mardōmān pahlom [kū mardōmān tis-ē ēn weh ka abar dēn ēstēnd]. kē ō ōy i man Srōš [ō ōy i man dastwar] dahēd [tan i xwēš] ud cāšēd [ō kasān kū bē dahēd] abar rasēd ō Hordād ud Amurdād [pad mizd stadan]. hān i Wahman kunišn ō Ohrmazd [ā-z rasišn pad mizd stadan].

"Thus he is to be announced, whom the most bountiful one told me [to have as *dastwar*]; (it is) to be spoken and recited,⁹ who is best for men [i.e. this one thing is best for men, that¹⁰ they stand within the religion]. He who gives to that Srōš of mine [to that *dastwar* of mine] [his own body], and teaches [people to give (theirs)], he will attain to Hordād and Amurdād [in reaping a reward]. The deeds of Wahman unto Ohrmazd [must also come with reaping reward]."

Phl.Y.46.17:

*Ēdōn hān i ašmāh paymān gōwišn [kū dēn i ašmāh gōwišn] nē apaymānigih dastwar Jāmāsp Xwōbān [kū hān i az dēn nē paydāg nē gōwēd], pad hēd-dahišnīh ō hān i ašmāh niyāyīšn āyēd pad Srōš rād-dahišnīh [ay hēd-dahišnīh ēd dēn i ašmāh gōwēd ud tan-iz rādēnēd ō hērbēdestān] bē wizīnēd kē dahišn kē-z adahišn [ud ō ōy dahēd kē abāyēd dādan] dānāg paymān pad *rāstīh¹¹ Ohrmazd [ēd kū pad dēn i Ohrmazd āgāh].*

⁷ So J; the other MSS. have *p'nk'*.

⁸ lit.: "thus".

⁹ lit.: "to be spoken and recitation-giving".

¹⁰ lit.: "when", cf. above, n. 4.

¹¹ MSS.: *l'stš*.

"Thus your treaty is to be proclaimed [i.e. your (belonging to) the religion is to be proclaimed], not the lack of it,¹² Dastwar Jāmāsp Xwōbān [i.e. that which is not revealed from the religion he will not say]. With continuous gifts he comes to your prayer, with the liberal giving of Srōš [namely, 'continuous gifts' he calls your religion, and also he gives his body as a liberal gift to priestly duties¹³]. It will choose who is to be given to and also who is not to be given to [and it will give to him, to whom one must give], the wise Treaty, with the rightness of Ohrmazd [that is, it knows because of the religion of Ohrmazd¹⁴]."

¹² *apaymānigih*, lit.: "the lack of *paymān*". The usual translation "lack of moderation" would here obscure the point.

¹³ For this translation cf. Dhabhar, op. cit., gloss., 57.

¹⁴ Or "it is aware of the religion of Ohrmazd"?; cf. above, n. 2.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HYMNS TO SRAOŠA

Yasna 57, the Greater Hymn to Sraoša

Yašt 11, the Srōš Yašt Hādōxt

Yasna 56, the Srōš Yašt i Keh, "Lesser Hymn to Sraoša"

[An Avestan verse is usually followed by its Pahlavi translation, except if it is very short, or if two verses appear to be linked particularly closely together. In the latter case, two Avestan verses are grouped together and followed by the Pahlavi versions. Where standard formulas which contain no special reference to Sraoša (such as the *wāj-girišnīh* in *Y.57.1*) are included in the Avestan text, these are not repeated in the Pahlavi version.]

YASNA 57, TEXT

Av. 1 ašəm vohū (*si bār*). sraošahe ašyehe taxmahe tanuma-
θrahe darši. draoš āhūiryehē xšnaoθra yasnāica vahmāi-
ca xšnaoθrāica frasastayaēca. yaθā ahū vairyō zaotā
frā. mē mrūtē. yaθā ahū vairyō yō zaotā frā. mē mrūtē.
aθā ratuš ašātciṭ haca frā ašava viḍvā mraotū.

Phl. 1 Srōšahlāy [i tarsagāh] i tagīg i tan-framān [kū tan
pad framān i yazdān dārēd] i škāft-zēn [kū-š zēn-abzār
škāft *barōiθrō, taēžəm*] i xwadāy [pad Arzah ud Sawah
frašūsaitē] šnāyēnēm pad yazišn ud niyāyišn ud šnāyēnī-
dārīh ud frāz *āfrinagānīh. . . .

Karda 1

Av. 2 sraošəm ašim huraodəm vərəθrājanəm frādaṭ. gaēθəm
ašavanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide,
yō paoriyō mazdā dāman
frastərətāt paiti barəsmən

YASNA 57, TRANSLATION

Av. 1 a.v. 3. With propitiation of Sraoša, accompanied by
rewards,¹ the brave, who has the Sacred Word for
body,² with bold³ club, the ahurian,⁴ for worship,
adoration, propitiation and praise. *Yaθā ahū vairyō* the
zaotar should say to me. *Yaθā ahū vairyō* he who is the
zaotar should say to me. *Aθā ratuš ašātciṭ haca*⁵ the
righteous⁶ knowing one should say.⁷

Phl. 1 Righteous⁸ Srōš, [the reverent], the vigorous,
whose body is the command⁹ [that is: he keeps his body
at the command of the *Yazads*], with hard weapon [that
is: his equipment of arms is hard, *sharp-edged*¹⁰], the
lord [in (the continents) Arzah and Sawah *he moves
forth*],¹¹ we propitiate with worship and prayer and
propitiation and loud praise¹²

Karda 1

Av. 2 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
form, victorious,¹ furthering the world,² righteous,
master of righteousness,³ who, with outspread *barəs-*
man,⁴ was the first of Mazdā's⁵ creation⁶ to worship

yazata ahurəm mazdām
yazata aməšē spəntā
yazata pāyū θwōrəštāra
yā vīspa θwərəsatō dāmañ.

Phl. 2 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar ī frādādār ī gēhān ī ahlaw ī
ahlāyih rad yazēm. kē-š fradom andar Ohrmazd dāmān
pad frāz wistarišnīh abar barsom ā-š yašt Ohrmazd u-š
yašt Amahraspandān u-š yašt pānag bringar [Mihr] kē
harwisṣ brēhēnīdār ī dāmān [ī nēkīh].

Av. 3 ahe raya xʿarənañhaca
aiñhe ama vərəθraγnaca
ahe yasna yazatanam
təm yazāi surunvata yasna
sraošem ašim zaoθrābyō
ašimca vañuhīm bərəzaitim
nairimca sañham huraoðəm.
āca.nō jamyāt avanhe
vərəθraja sraošō ašyō.

Phl. 3 pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah [ī Srōš], pad hān ī ōy
amāwandīh ud pērōzgarīh, pad hān ī *ōy *yazdān-
yaštārīh ōy yazēm pad hān ī niyōxšīšnōmand yazišn
[pad dastwar], Srōšahlāy pad zōhr ud Ahlišwang-iz ī
weh ī buland ud Nēryōsang-iz ī hurust. hān-iz amāh
rasād ō hayyārīh ud pērōzgarīh [ī weh] Srōšahlāy.

Av. 4 sraošem ašim yazamaide. ratūm bərəzantəm yazamaide
yim ahurəm mazdām yō ašahe apanōtēmō yō ašahe
jaymūštēmō. vīspa sravā zaraθuštri yazamaide
vīspaca hvaršta šyaoθna yazamaide varštaca
varəšyamnaca.
yeñhē hātām āat yesnē paitī vañhō
mazdā ahurō vaēθā ašāt hacā
yāñhamcā tascā tāscā yazamaide.

Ahura Mazdā, to worship the Aməša Spəntas, to
worship the Protector and the Fashioner⁷ who fashion⁸
all creatures.

Phl. 2 We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victori-
ous, who furthers the world, the righteous, the lord of
righteousness. Who, with spreading out⁹ of the *barsom*,
was the first among the creatures of Ohrmazd to worship
Ohrmazd, to worship the Amahraspandān, to worship
the Protector, the Determiner [Mihr],¹⁰ who is the
fashioner of all the creatures [of goodness].

Av. 3 For his splendour¹ and fortune,² for his strength and
victoriousness,³ for his worship of the *Yazatas*, I shall
worship him with audible worship, him, Sraoša, accom-
panied by rewards, with offerings,⁴ and good Aši, the
high, and Nairyō.sañha,^{5,6} fair of form. May he come
to us for assistance, victorious Sraoša, accompanied by
rewards.

Phl. 3 For his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune, for his strength
and victoriousness, for his worship of the *Yazads*,⁷ I
shall worship him, with (an act of) worship with
hearkening⁸ [(performed) by a priest who has author-
ity],⁹ him, righteous Srōš, with offerings, and also good
Ahlišwang,¹⁰ the high, and also Nēryōsang, the well-
grown. And may he come to us for assistance and
victoriousness, [who (is) good] righteous Srōš.

Av. 4 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, we
worship the high master, Ahura Mazdā, who has
attained the highest degree¹ of righteousness,² who is
the most advanced in righteousness. We worship all the
words of Zarathustrā and we worship all the well-
performed actions, both those that have been performed
and those that will be performed. At whose of-the-beings
(masc.) and of whom (fem. plur.) therefore Ahura
Mazdā knows the better for worship according to
righteousness, those (male beings) and those (female
ones) we worship.³

Phl. 4 Srōšahlāy yazēm. rad ī buland yazēm kē Ohrmazd kē az ahlāyih abardom [kū az yazdān kē-šān tan ahlāyih ast ā hān meh] kē az ahlāyih madārdom [kū hān kār ī pad xrad abāyēd kardan pēš kard ēstēd]. harwisp-iz sraw ī Zardušt yazēm [abestāg ud zand]. harwisp-iz huwaršt warzišnīh yazēm ī warzīd [tā nūn] ud ēd-iz ī warzihēd [az nūn frāz]...

Karda 2

Av. 5 sraošēm ašīm huraoðēm vərəθrājanēm frādaṭ. gaēθēm... yazamaide (= 2, 1st phrase),

Av. 6 yō paoiryō barəsma frastərənata θryaxštīšca panca. yaxštīšca hapta. yaxštīšca nava. yaxštīšca āxšnūšca maiðyōi. paitištānāšca aməšanām spəntanām yasnāica vahmāica xšnaoθrāica frasastayaēca. ahe raya.... tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

Phl. 5 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar.... (= 2, 1st phrase),

Phl. 6 kē fradom barsom frāz wistard 3-tāg ud 5-tāg ud 7-tāg ud 9-tāg cand zānūg ud cand mayān padištān [pad jud-wēzišn, būd ka ēdōn būd ud būd ka ēdōn] pad hān ī Amahraspandān yazišn ud niyāyišn ud šnāyēnīdārih ud frāz *āfrīnagānīh. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah.... (= 3-4).

Karda 3

Av. 7 sraošēm ašīm huraoðēm vərəθrājanēm frādaṭ. gaēθēm.... yazamaide (= 2, 1st phrase),

Av. 8 yō paoiryō gāθā frastāvayaṭ yā panca spitāmahe ašaonō zaraθuštāhe *afsmanivān vacastaštivaṭ maṭ. āzaintīš maṭ. paiti. frasā aməšanām spəntanām yasnāica vahmāica xšnaoθrāica frasastayaēca. ahe raya.... tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

Phl. 4 We worship righteous Srōš. We worship the high master, Ohrmazd, who is superior as regards⁴ righteousness [i.e. he is greater than the *Yazads*, whose body is righteousness], who is the most advanced as regards righteousness [i.e. he has performed⁵ in advance⁶ the work that one should do with wisdom]. We also worship all the words of Zarathustra [the Avesta and the Zand⁷]. We also worship all the well-performed actions which have been performed [until now] and also those which will be performed [from now on].....

Karda 2

Av. 5 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form, victorious, furthering the world.... (= 2, 1st phrase),

Av. 6 who was the first to spread out the *barəsman*, (bundles) of three twigs¹ and of five twigs and of seven twigs and of nine twigs, those which come up to the knee and those (cut off) at the middle of the leg,² for worship and adoration and propitiation and praise of the Aməša Spəntas. For his splendour and fortune..... (here repeat 3-4).

Phl. 5 We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victorious, (= 2, 1st phrase),

Phl. 6 who was the first to spread out the *barsom*, the three twigs and the five twigs and the seven twigs and the nine twigs, as high as the knee and as high as the middle of the leg [selecting³ (them) separately, sometimes it was one way, sometimes it was another way⁴], for worship and adoration and propitiation and loud praise of the Amahraspandān. For his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune (here repeat 3-4).

Karda 3

Av. 7 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form, victorious, furthering the world... (= 2, 1st phrase),

Av. 8 who was the first to recite the *Gāthās*, the five of righteous Spitama¹ Zarathustra, in verse-lines,² in verses,³ with explanations, with answers, for worship and adoration and propitiation and praise of the Aməša Spəntas. For his splendour and fortune.... (here repeat 3-4).

- Phl. 7 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar... (= 2, 1st phrase),
- Phl. 8 kē-š fradom gāhān frāz srūd kē 5 ī Spitamān ahlaw Zardušt abāg *gaiθr ud abāg wacast ud abāg šnāsagih ī zand ud abāg abāz-pursišnih [ī nērang] pad hān ī Amahraspandān yazišn ud niyāyīšn ud šnāyēnīdārīh ud frāz *āfrīnagānih. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah... (= 3-4).
- Karda 4*
- Av. 9 sraošēm ašīm huraodēm vərəθrājanēm frādaṭ.gāēθēm..... yazamaide (= 2, 1st phrase),
- Av. 10 yō driyaošca drīvyāšca amavaṭ nmānēm ham.tāšti pasca hū frāšmō.dāitīm yō aēšmēm stəwəwata snaiθiša vīxrumantēm x'arēm jainti aṭca hē bāda kaməwəwədaṭ jaṇvā paiti x'anḥayeiti yaθa aojā nāidyāḥhēm. ahe raya.....tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).
- Phl. 9 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar..... (= 2, 1st phrase),
- Phl. 10 kē driyōšān mardān ud zanān ā-šān amāwandān andar mān ō ham tāšēd [kū-šān dahēd], kē pas az hufrāšmōdād Xēšm pad hān wistarišnōmand sneh hān ī *guxrūn xwar zanēd u-š ēdōn ōy bāstān kamāl pad zanišn abar ahōgēnēd [kū-š andar škenēd] ciyōn ōzōmand ōy ī nihān dahišn. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah..... (= 3-4).
- Karda 5*
- Av. 11 sraošēm ašīm huraodēm vərəθrājanēm frādaṭ.gāēθēm..... yazamaide (= 2, 1st phrase), tāxmēm āsūm aojanḥvantēm daršitēm sūrēm bərəzaidīm
- Av. 12 yō vispaēibyō haca arəzaēibyō vavanvā paiti.jasaiti vyaxma aməšanəm spəntanəm. ahe raya.....tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

- Phl. 7 We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victorious. (= 2, 1st phrase),
- Phl. 8 who was the first to recite the *Gāthās*, the five of righteous Spitama Zarathustra, with verse-lines⁴ and with verses,⁵ and with knowledge of the commentary and with a detailed examination [of the sacred formulas⁶], for worship and adoration and propitiation and loud praise of the Amahraspandān. For his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune... (here repeat 3-4).
- Karda 4*
- Av. 9 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form, victorious, furthering the world.... (=2, 1st phrase),
- Av. 10 who fashions a strong house for the pious¹ man and woman, after the setting² of the sun;³ who, with a shattering⁴ weapon, inflicts a bloodless⁵ wound on Aēšma and, then again,⁶ striking his evil head, crushes⁷ him, as a stronger⁸ man (crushes)⁹ a weaker. For his splendour and fortune..... (here repeat 3-4).
- Phl. 9 We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victorious. (=2, 1st phrase),
- Phl. 10 who transforms¹⁰ the poor¹¹ men and women [i.e. he creates them]¹² into strong ones, in the house;¹³ who, after sunset, inflicts a bloody¹⁴ wound on Xēšm with his shattering weapon, and he thus defiles his evil head again and again¹⁵ by striking it, [i.e. he crushes it] the way the strong man does to the one who is to be obliterated.¹⁶ For his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune... (here repeat 3-4).
- Karda 5*
- Av. 11 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form, victorious, furthering the world..... (=2, 1st phrase), the brave, the swift, the strong, the bold, the powerful, with sublime insight,¹
- Av. 12 who returns, victorious, from all battles to the ceremonial meeting¹ of the Aməša Spəntas. For his splendour and fortune..... (here repeat 3-4).

- Phl. 11 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar. . . . (= 2, *1st phrase*),
ī tagīg tēz ōzōmand škaft-abzār buland,
Phl. 12 kē az harwisp ardīg [ud az hamāg kârezār] wizārdan
bē rasēd bōxt abar ō hanjaman ī Amahraspandān.
pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah. (= 3-4).

Karda 6

- Av. 13 sraošem ašim huraoðem vərəθrājanəm frādaṭ. gaēθəm. . . .
yazamaide (= 2, *1st phrase*), yūnəm aojištəm yūnəm
tancištəm yūnəm θwaxšištəm yūnəm āsištəm yūnəm parō.
katarštəmēm.
paitišata mazdayasna
sraošahe ašyehe yasnəm.

- Phl. 13 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar. . . . (= 2, *1st phrase*), kē
az gušnān ōzōmanddom kē az gušnān tagīgdom kē az
gušnān tuxšāgdom kē az gušnān tēzdom kē az gušnān
pēš-kāmagdom, abar xwāhēd *māzdēsn hān ī Srōš
niyāyišn.

- Av. 14 dūrāt haca ahmāt nmānāt
dūrāt haca aiḥhāt viṣaṭ
dūrāt haca ahmāt zantaot
dūrāt haca aiḥhāt daiḥhaoṭ
aṭa iθyejā vōiynā yeinti
yeḥhe *nmānya sraošō ašyō vərəθraja
θrafoðō asti paiti. zantō
nāca ašava frāyō. humatō frāyō. hūxtō frāyō. hvarštō.
ahe raya. . . . tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

- Phl. 14 kū dūr az hān mān ud dūr az hān wis ud dūr az hān
zand ud dūr az hān deh hān ī wattar sēj ud *wōig
rawānd kū andar hān mān Srōšahlāy ī pērōzgar padēx
ast ud padīrift, ud mard-iz ī ahlaw ī freh-humat ī freh-
hūxt ī freh-huwaršt. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah.
(= 3-4).

- Phl. 11 We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
rious. . . . (= 2, *1st phrase*), the vigorous, the swift, the
strong, the hard,² the powerful,² and the high,
Phl. 12 who, after deciding all battles [and from all battlefields]
comes, victorious,² to the assembly of the Amahras-
pandān. For his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune. . . .
(here repeat 3-4).

Karda 6

- Av. 13 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
form, victorious, furthering the world. . . . (= 2, *1st
phrase*), the strongest of young heroes, the bravest of
young heroes, the most active of young heroes, the
swiftest of young heroes,¹ the most dreaded afar of
young heroes. Be zealous,² Mazdā-worshippers, for the
worship of Sraoša, accompanied by rewards.

- Phl. 13 We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
rious. . . . (= 2, *1st phrase*), the strongest of males, the
most vigorous of males, the most diligent of males,
the swiftest of males, the most purposeful³ of males.
Perform willingly,⁴ Mazdā-worshippers,⁵ the prayer to
righteous Srōš,

- Av. 14 Far away from that¹ house,² far away from that settle-
ment, far away from that tribal area, far away from that
country go³ the evil dangers,⁴ the famines,⁵ in whose⁶
house⁷ Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, the victorious,
is satisfied and made welcome, and also the righteous
man, whose good thoughts exceed (his evil ones), whose
good words exceed (his evil ones), whose good deeds
exceed (his evil ones). For his splendour and fortune. . .
(here repeat 3-4).

- Phl. 14 so that⁸ the very evil dangers and famines⁹ may go far
from that house and far from that village and far from
that district and far from that country, in which house
righteous Srōš, the victorious, is prosperous and (well-)
received,¹⁰ and also the righteous man, whose good
thoughts exceed (his evil ones), whose good words
exceed (his evil ones), whose good deeds exceed (his evil
ones). For his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune. . . . (here
repeat 3-4).

Karda 7

Av. 15

sraošem ašim huraoðem vərəθrājanəm
frādaṭ. gaēθəm.

yazamaide (= 2, 1st phrase),
yō vananō kayaðahe
yō vananō kāiðyehe
yō janta daēvayā drujō
aš. aojañhō ahūm. *mərəcō
yō harəta aiwyāxštaca
vispayā fravōiš gaēθayā

Phl. 15

Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar. (= 2, 1st phrase),
kē wānīdār ī kastārān mardān kē wānīdār ī kastārān
zanān kē zanēd dēw druz ī was-ōz ī axwān-murnjēnīdār
kē sālār ud abar-nigāh-dāštār ī harwispīn frāz ō gētīgān.

Av. 16

yō anavañhabdēmnō zaēnañha
nipāiti mazdā dāmañ
yō anavañhabdēmnō zaēnañha
nišhaurvaiti mazdā dāmañ
yō vīspəm ahūm astvantəm
ərəðwa snaiθīša nipāiti
pasca hū frāšmō. dāitīm.

Phl. 16

kē pad axwābīh ud zēnāwandīh bē pāyēd Ohrmazd
dāmān, kē pad axwābīh ud zēnāwandīh bē sālārēnēd
Ohrmazd dāmān, kē harwisp axw ī astōmand abrāst-
sneh bē pāyēd [kū snēh abrāst] pas az hufrāšmōdād.

Av. 17

yō nōiṭ pascaēta hušx^aafa
yaṭ mainyū dāmañ daiðitəm
yasca spəntō mainyuš yasca aṇrō
hišārō ašahe gaēθā
yō vīspāiš ayañca xšafnasca yūiðyeiti māzanyaēibō
haða daēvaēibyō.

Phl. 17

kē nē pas xwaš xuft pēš tā mēnōgān dām dād [*ēwbār tā
mēnōgān dām dād] kē Spenāg Mēnōg ud kē-z Gannāg;
sālār ī hān ī ahlāyīh gēhān, kē hamāg rōz ud šab āyōzēd
[pad kōxšīšn] abāg māzanīgān dēwān.

Karda 7

Av. 15

We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
form, victorious, furthering the world. (=2, 1st
phrase), the vanquisher of the *kayaða*-sinner,¹ the
vanquisher of the follower of the *kayaða*-sinner,² the
smiter³ of the very strong she-demon *Drug*,⁴ who is the
destroyer of existence,⁵ (Sraoša), the⁶ guardian³ and
supervisor³ of the promotion⁷ of all worldly creatures.

Phl. 15

We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
rious. (=2, 1st phrase), the vanquisher of iniquitous
men, the vanquisher of iniquitous women, who smites
the demon *Druz* of great strength, the destroyer of
existence, (Srōš, who is) the leader and supervisor over⁸
all the creatures of the material world.

Av. 16

Who, never sleeping, vigilantly,¹ protects Mazdā's
creations, who, never sleeping, vigilantly, guards
Mazdā's creations; who, with upraised weapon, protects
the entire material existence, after the setting of the sun.

Phl. 16.

Who, not sleeping,² vigilantly, protects the creations of
Ohrmazd; who, not sleeping, vigilantly, supervises the
creations of Ohrmazd; who, with upraised weapon [i.e.
with (his) weapon upraised], protects the entire material
existence after sunset.

Av. 17

Who has not slept¹ (afterwards) since² the two Spirits
created³ the creations, the Bounteous⁴ one and the Evil
one, watching over the world of righteousness; who, all
days and nights,⁵ battles with⁶ the monstrous⁷ demons.

Phl. 17

Who no longer⁸ slept well, ever since the Spirits created
creation [not once since the Spirits created creation],⁹ the
Bounteous Spirit and the Evil one also; the leader of the
world of righteousness, who, all days and nights,
struggles [in battle] with the monstrous demons.

Av. 18 hō nōiṭ tarštō *frānāmaite
 ōwaēšāt parō daēvaēibyō
 frā ahmāt parō vīspe daēva
 anusō taršta nōmante
 taršta tōmanhō dvarēnti.
 ahe raya tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

Phl. 18 hān nē pad tars frāz ānāmēd [kū stō nē bawēd] az bīm bē
 dēwān; frāz az hān bē [ciyōn hān stō nē bawēd] harwisp
 dēw ahunsandihā pad tars ānāmēnd kū pad tars ō tom
 dwārēnd. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah (= 3-4).

Karda 8

Av. 19 sraošem ašim huraoðəm vərəθrājanəm
 frādaṭ . gaēθəm . . .
 yazamaide (=2, 1st phrase), yim yazata
 haomō frāšmiš baēšazyō
 srīrō xšaθryō zairi . dōiθrō
 barəzište paiti barəzahi
 haraiθyō paiti barəzayā.

Phl. 19 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar . . . (=2, 1st phrase), kē-š
 yašt Hōm ī frāšm ī bēšāzēnīdār ī nēk xwadāy ī zarrēn-
 dōysar [kū-š cašm *tarōg] pad bālist abar buland pad
 Harborz abar.

Av. 20 hvacā pāpō . vacā pairi . *gā . vacā
 paiθimnō vīspō . paēsīm
 mastīm yam pouru . āzaintīm
 maθraheca paurvatātəm.
 ahe raya tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

Phl. 20 xūb-gōwišn [kū hān ī frārōn gōwēd] ī pānag-gōwišn [kū
 hān gōwēd ā-š pānagih az-iš] ī abar-pad-hangām-gōwišn
 [ī hān gāh gōwēd ī ōh abāyēd guftan] ī pādixšāy pad
 frazānagih ī harwisp-pēsīd bē dād ī purr-šnāsag [pad
 abārig kār] pad mānsar pēšraftār [ā-z šnāsag hān Hōm].
 pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah (= 3-4).

Av. 18 He does not flee,¹ fearful, in terror,² from the demons;
 all the demons flee from him, fearful, against their will,³
 fearful they hurry into the darkness.⁴ For his splendour
 and fortune . . . (here repeat 3-4).

Phl. 18 He does not turn⁵ away in terror [i.e. he is not defeated]
 for⁶ fear of the demons; away from him turn all the
 demons [since he is not defeated], against their will, in
 terror; that is, they run into the darkness in terror. For
 his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune (here repeat 3-
 4).

Karda 8

Av. 19 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
 form, victorious, furthering the world . . . (=2, 1st
 phrase), whom¹ Haoma, the glowing,² the healing, the
 beautiful, the majestic, with golden³ eyes, worshipped on
 the highest height, on Harā the high,⁴

Phl. 19 We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
 rious, . . . (=2, 1st phrase), who⁵ worshipped Hōm, the
 glowing, the healing, the beautiful lord,⁶ the golden-eyed
 [i.e. his eyes are (the colour of) fresh (shoots)⁷], on the
 highest height,⁸ on Harborz,

Av. 20 whose words are good, whose words give protection,¹
 whose words are chanted all round;² who possesses the
 universal³ knowledge, which contains many explana-
 tions, and the pre-eminence of the Sacred Word. For his
 splendour and fortune . . . (here repeat 3-4).

Phl. 20 whose speech is good [i.e. he says what is righteous],
 whose speech gives protection [i.e. he says it, then there
 is protection from it], whose speech is timely⁴ [who
 speaks at such a time that one should speak thus], who
 was made⁵ sovereign through all-adorned wisdom,
 having full knowledge [in other matters], pre-eminent
 through the Sacred Word [thus he, Hōm, too, is
 knowing]. For his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune
 (here repeat 3-4).

Karda 9

Av. 21

sraošəm ašīm huraoðəm vərəθrājanəm frādaṭ . gaēθəm
 yazamaide (=2, 1st phrase),
 yeñhe nmānəm vərəθrayni
 hazañrō . stūnəm viðātəm
 barəzište paiti barəzahi
 haraiθyō paiti barəzayā
 x'āraoxšnəm antara . naēmāt
 *stəhrpaēsəm ništara . naēmāt

Phl. 21

Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar (=2, 1st phrase), kē ōy
 māt ī pērōzgar ī 1000-stūn winnārd ēstēd pad bālist abar
 buland, pad Harborz abar, kē xwad-rōšn az andar
 nēmag ud star-pēsīd az kustagtar nēmag [kū az kustag
 kustag pad gōhr wirāst ēstēd].

Av. 22

yeñhe ahunō vairyō
 snaiθiš vīsata vərəθrajā
 yasnasca haptanḥāitiš fšūšasca maθrō
 yō vərəθrayniš vīspāsa yasnō . kərətayō.
 ahe raya tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

Phl. 22

kē ōy ahunawar pad snehīh padirift ēstēd pērōzgar ud
 *yasn-iz ī haft-hād ud fšūšmānsar-iz ī pērōzgar [u-š
 padirift ēstēd] ud harwisp yazišn-kardārīh. pad hān ī ōy
 rāy ud xwarrah (= 3-4).

Karda 10

Av. 23

sraošəm ašīm huraoðəm vərəθrājanəm
 frādaṭ . gaēθəm
 yazamaide (=2, 1st phrase),
 yeñhe amaca vərəθraynaca
 haozaθwaca vaēdyāca
 avāin aməšā spānta
 aoi haptō . karšvairīm zaṃ
 yō daēnō . dišō *daēnayā

Phl. 23

Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar (=2, 1st phrase), kē
 pad hān ī ōy amāwandīh ud pērōzgarīh ud hu-zandīh ud
 āgāhīh [ī Srōš] rawēnd Amahraspandān abar ō haft-

Karda 9

Av. 21

We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
 form, victorious, furthering the world (=2, 1st
 phrase), whose victorious¹ house, with a thousand pillars
 (is) set² on the highest height, on Harā the high,
 endowed with its own light³ inside, adorned with stars⁴
 outside,

Phl. 21

We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
 rious, . . . (=2, 1st phrase), whose victorious house, with
 a thousand pillars, is set⁵ on the highest height, on
 Harborz, endowed with its own light on the inside and
 adorned with stars⁶ on the outside⁷ [i.e. on all sides⁸ it
 is set with jewels],

Av. 22

to whom the *Ahuna vairyā* prayer served as a victorious¹
 weapon, and the *Yasna Haptanḥāiti* and the *Fšūšō*
Maθra, the victorious, and all recitations of acts of
 worship.² For his splendour and fortune (here
 repeat 3-4).

Phl. 22

who has received the *Ahunawar* prayer, the victorious,
 for a weapon, and the Worship³ of the Seven Chapters,
 and also the *Fšūšmānsar*, the victorious, [he has received],
 and all performances of acts of worship. For his [Srōš's]
 splendour and fortune (here repeat 3-4).

Karda 10

Av. 23

We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
 form, victorious, furthering the world (=2, 1st
 phrase), because of whose strength and victoriousness,
 familiarity (with religious matters) and knowledge, the
 Aməša¹ Spāntas came down to the earth of seven
 continents.² The³ teacher of religion,⁴ who

Phl. 23

We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
 rious, . . . (=2, 1st phrase), because of whose strength
 and victoriousness and familiarity with the Zand⁵ and

kišwar zamīg pad dēn-nimūdārih ō dēnigān [Hōšēdar ud Hōšēdarmāh ud Sōšyāns];

Av. 24

vašō .xšaθrō *fracaraite
aoi yam astvaitim gaēθam
aya daēnaya fraorēnta
ahurō mazdā ašava
frā vohu manō frā ašēm vahištēm
frā xšaθrēm vairim frā spēnta ārmaitiš
frā haurvatās frā amərətātās frā
āhūiriš frašnō frā āhūiriš tkaēšō.

Phl. 24

kāmag-xwadāy frāz rawēnd abar ō astōmandān gēhān.
kē hān ī ōy dēn ā-š franāft Ohrmazd ī ahlaw [kū-š rawāg
bē kard hād dēn ī Srōš, dastwar dāštan, ud hān ī Mihr,
(Mihr) nē druxtan]. frāz Wahman frāz Ašwahišt frāz
Šahrewar frāz Spandarmad frāz Hordād frāz Amurdād
frāz hān ī Ohrmazd pursišn [abestāg ud zand] frāz hān ī
Ohrmazd dādestān [pēšēmālih ud pasēmālih].

Av. 25

frā aḏa vaēibya ahubya
vaēibya nō ahubya nipayā
āi sraoša ašya huraoḏa
ahēca aṇhəuš yō astvatō
yasca asti manahyō
pairi drvataṭ mahrkāt
pairi drvataṭ aēšmāt
pairi *drvaṭbyō *haēnōbyō
yā us xrūrēm drafšēm gərəwnan
aēšmahe parō draomōbyō
yā aēšmō duždā drāvayāt
maṭ viḏātaot daēvō .dātāt

Phl. 25

frāz ēg andar harw 2 axwān amāh bē pāyē ay Srōšahlāy ī
hurust andar ēn axwān ī astōmandān ud kē-z mēnōgān
[andar-iz 57 sāl] bē az ōy druwand margīh bē az ōy
druwand Xēšm bē az ōy druwand hēn [ī dušmen] kē pad
ulīh *xruwig drafš nayēd pad pēšōbāyih ī Xēšm, u-

knowledge [i.e. Srōš's], the Amahraspandān⁶ go to the earth of seven continents, to reveal⁷ the religion to those devoted to the religion [Hōšēdar, Hōšēdarmāh and Sōšyāns],

Av. 24

(who)¹ moves forth² at will towards the material world. This religion³ professed Ahura Mazdā, the righteous, and also Vohu Manah, and also Aša Vahišta, and also Xšaθra Vairya, and also Spēnta Ārmaiti, and also Haurvatāt, and also Amərətāt, and also the Ahurian Questioning,⁴ and also the Ahurian Doctrine.

Phl. 24

free to act as they wish they go forth⁵ to the material world. Whose⁶ (i.e. Srōš's) religious sphere⁷ was propagated by righteous Ohrmazd [i.e. he caused it to become widely accepted, that is, the religious sphere of Srōš: to have a *dastwar*,⁸ and that of Mihr: not to deceive Mihr⁹] and also by Wahman, by Ašwahišt, by Šahrewar, by Spandarmad, by Hordād, by Amurdād, by the Questioning of Ohrmazd [the Avesta and Zand] and by the Justice of Ohrmazd [prosecution and defence].

Av. 25

Now¹ in both lives, o Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form, in both lives may you protect us, during² this life which is material and during that which is spiritual, from wicked death, from wicked Aēšma, from the wicked³ armies⁴ which raise a bloodstained banner, from the deceptions⁵ of Aēšma, which malignant Aēšma causes,⁵ together with the demon-created Viḏātu.

Phl. 25

Now then, in both states of existence may you protect us, o well-grown righteous Srōš, in this existence of the corporeal beings and also (in) that which is of the spiritual beings [also in the fifty-seven years⁶], from wicked death, from the wicked Xēšm, from the wicked

šan Xēšm ī dujdānāg dārēd u-šan abāg Wīdād ī dēwān-
dād.

Av. 26

aḍa.nō.tūm sraoša ašya huraōḍa
zāvara dayā hitaēibyō
drvatātām tanubyō
pouru.spaxštīm tbišyantām
paiti.jaitīm dušmainyunām
haθrā.nivāitīm hamərəθanām
aurvaθanām tbišyantām.
ahe raya.....tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

Phl. 26

ēdōn tō amāh Srōšahlāy ī hurust zōr dahē ō frahixtān
[aspān] ud drust-rawiśnīh ō tan, purr-pāsbānīh az
bēšidārān, bē-zadārīh ī dušmenān, pad-āgenēn-wānidārīh
ī hamēmālān ī adōstān ī bēšidārān. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud
xwarrah..... (= 3-4).

Karda 11

Av. 27

sraošm ašim huraōḍm vərəθājanəm frādaṭ.gaeθəm....
yazamaide (=2, *1st phrase*),
yim caθwārō aurvantō
auruša raxšna frādərəsra
spənta viḍvānhō asaya
mainivasanḥō vazənti.
srvaēna aēšam safānhō
zaranya paiti.θwarštānhō;

Phl. 27

Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar..... (=2, *1st phrase*), kē
ōy 4 arwand ī arus rōšn frāz-paydāg abzōn āgāh *nē-
sāyag ā-š pad mēnōg gyāgīh wazēnd. sruwēn hān ī
awēšan sumb u-š zarr abar brēhēnīd [kū *zʰy'npt kard
ēstēd abar kafšag];

Av. 28

āsyānha aspāēibya āsyānha vātaēibya āsyānha
vāraēibya āsyānha maēyaēibya āsyānha vayaēibya
*hu.patarətaēibya āsyānha hvastayā aiṃhimanayā;

army [the hostile], which bears aloft the bloody⁷ banner,
with Xēšm as their leader; Xēšm, the ignorant, keeps
them and the demon-created Wīdād is with them.

Av. 26

Now¹ then, may you, Sraoša, accompanied by rewards,
fair of form, give speed² to our teams, health to our
bodies, much watchfulness³ against enemies, ability to
retaliate against foes, ability to defeat, with one blow,
the inimical,⁴ hostile opponents. For his splendour and
fortune..... (*here repeat 3-4*).

Phl. 26

Thus may you, o well-grown righteous Srōš, give
strength⁵ to our trained ones [horses] and well-being to
our bodies, full watchfulness against those who cause
harm, ability to strike down the foes, ability to over-
come, all at once,⁶ the opponents, the hostile, (those)
who cause harm.⁷ For his [Srōš's] splendour and
fortune... (*here repeat 3-4*).

Karda 11

Av. 27

We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
form, victorious, furthering the world.... (=2, *1st
phrase*), who¹ is drawn by four white, radiant, trans-
parent,² bounteous, knowing steeds, casting no shadow,
belonging to the spiritual realm.³ Their hoofs of horn
are inlaid with gold;

Phl. 27

We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
rious, (=2, *1st phrase*), him, whom four white,
bright, clearly visible, bountiful, knowing swift ones,
casting no shadow,⁴ draw forth in the spiritual realm.
Their hoofs are of horn and gold has been fitted over
them [i.e. gold.....⁵ is fitted over⁶ their hoofs];

Av. 28

faster¹ than two horses, faster than two winds, faster
than two rain-showers, faster than two clouds, faster
than two well²-winged birds, faster than two (arrows)
which are being shot well-shot;³

Phl. 28 tēzdom az asp [ī gētīg] ud tēzdom az wād ud tēzdom az
wārān ud tēzdom az miznē ud tēzdom az way ī wāyen-
dag ud tēzdom az hān ī ōy hu-tan wihēd [tigr].

Av. 29 yōi vīspō tē apayeinti
ya ave paskāt vyeinti
nōit ave paskāt āfante
yōi vaēibya snaiθižbya
frāyatayeinti vazəmna
yim vohūm sraošəm ašim
yaiciṭ ušastaire *hindvō *āgaurvyete
yaiciṭ daošataire niyne.
ahe raya tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

Phl. 29 awēšān harwispīn pasīh ayābēd kē ōy pas hilēd ud nē ōy
az pasīh ayābēd. kē ōy sneh harw 2 frāz rasēd pad
wazišn kē weh Srōšahlāy, kē pad ōšastar hindūgān girēd
ud kē-z pad dōšastar nē zanēd [ud kē-z bē zanēd ā-z
rasēd]. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah. (=3-4).

Karda 12

Av. 30 sraošəm ašim huraoðəm vərəθrājanəm frādaṭ . gaēθəm. . . .
yazamaide (= 2, *1st phrase*),

yō bərəzō bərəzyāstō
mazdā dāmaṇ *nišanhasti

Av. 31 yō āθritīm hamahe
ayaṇ hamayā vā xšapō
imaṭ karšvarə *avazaite
yaṭ x'aniraθəm bāmīm
snaiθiš zastaya dražimnō
brōiθrō . taēžəm hvā . vaēγəm
kamərəðe paiti daēvanam

Phl. 30 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar. (=2, *1st phrase*), kē
buland pad tan, buland-ēbyāst [pad kār ud dādestān
stabr] andar Ohrmazd dāmān nišast ēstēd;

Phl. 28 faster⁴ than [material] horses, faster than the wind, faster
than rain, faster than mist,⁵ faster than a flying bird,
faster than [the arrow] which the able-bodied man
shoots.⁶

Av. 29 who overtake¹ all those whom they chase from behind,
(but) are not (themselves) reached² from behind; who,
speeding along,³ cause⁴ good Sraoša, accompanied by
rewards, to arrive, with both weapons;⁵ if⁶ (an evil-
doer)⁷ is by the eastern frontier,⁸ he is caught,⁹ if he is
by the western one, he is struck down.¹⁰ For his
splendour and fortune. . . . (*here repeat 3-4*).

Phl. 29 He¹¹ reaches the rear¹² of all those whom he (then)
leaves behind,¹³ and one does not reach him from
behind; whose weapons,¹⁴ both of them, come (down),
flying—those of good righteous Srōš—the one¹⁵ that
seizes Indians in the east, and the one, too, that does
not¹⁶ strike in the west [and the other¹⁷ one, which does
strike, that also reaches its mark]. For his [Srōš's]
splendour and fortune. . . . (*here repeat 3-4*).

Karda 12

Av. 30 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
form, victorious, furthering the world. . . . (= 2, *1st
phrase*), who, tall,¹ high-girded, settles down² among
Mazdā's creations;

Av. 31 who, three times each day and each night, moves¹
towards this continent, X'aniraθa the splendid, holding
in his hand a sharp-edged² weapon, good to thrust³
against the evil heads of the demons;

Phl. 30 We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
rious. . . (=2, *1st phrase*), who, tall in stature, wearing
his sacred girdle high [firm in action and judgement], has
settled down among the creations of Ohrmazd;

Phl. 31 kē tā 3 bār andar ham rōz ud andar ham šab ō ēn kišwar
wazēd ī Xwanirah ī bāmīg; sneh pad dast dārēd ī burāg-
tēz ī *hu-wēxtār pad kamāl abar dēwān.

Av. 32 snaθāi aṇrahe manyēuš drvatō snaθāi
aēšmahe *xrvī.draoš snaθāi māzainyanam
daēvanam snaθāi višpanam daēvanam.
ahe raya.....tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).

Phl. 32 pad snah ī Gannāg Mēnōg ī druwand [ā-š az-iš bawēd]
pad snah ī Xēšm ī xurdruš [ā-š az-iš bawēd] (*pad) snah ī
māzanīgān dēwān [ā-š az-iš bawēd] ud (*pad) snah ī
harwispīn dēwān [ā-š az-iš bawēd]. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud
xwarrah..... (= 3-4).

Karda 13

Av. 33 sraošem ašim huraošem varəθrājanəm frādaṭ. gaēθəm
....yazamaide (= 2, 1st phrase),
iḍatca ainiḍatca iḍatca
višpamca aipi imam zam
višpā sraošahe ašyehe
taxmahe tanumaθrahe
taxmahe ham. varəitivatō
bāzuš. aojanhō raθaēštā
kamərəḍō. janō daēvanam
vanatō vanaitiš vanaitivatō ašaonō
vanatō vanaitiš vanaintīmca uparatātəm
yazamaide
yamca sraošahe ašyehe
yamca arštōiš yazatahe.

Phl. 33 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī pērōzgar..... (= 2, 1st phrase), kē
ēdar-iz ud an-ēdar-iz ud anī-z gyāg pad harwisp zamīg
ud pad harwisp zamān Srōšahlāy ī tagīg ī tan-framān ī
tagīg ī ham-*mardābūk ī bāzā-ōz ī artēštār [kū frahixt] ī
kamāl-zadār ī dēwān ī wānīdār pad wānišn, ōy kē
wānīdār ī ahlawān ōy kē wānīdār pad wānišn ud
wānīdārīh-iz ī pad abar-rawiśnih yazēm kē-z Srōšahlāy
ud kē-z Aštād yazd.

Phl. 31 who, as much as⁴ three times in the same day and the
same night, moves towards this continent, Xwanirah the
splendid; he has a weapon in his hand, sharp-edged,⁵
good to thrust⁶ against the evil heads of the demons;

Av. 32 to strike¹ the wicked Aṇra Mainyu, to strike Aēšma
with the bloody club,² to strike the monstrous demons,
to strike all the demons. For his splendour and fortune
..... (here repeat 3-4).

Phl. 32 to strike³ the wicked Evil Spirit [this will be done by
him]⁴, to strike Xēšm with the bloody club [this will be
done by him] (to) strike the monstrous demons [this will
be done by him] and (to) strike all the demons [this will
be done by him]. For his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune
..... (here repeat 3-4).

Karda 13

Av. 33 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
form, victorious, furthering the world.... (= 2, 1st
phrase), here and elsewhere¹ and here (again), all over
this earth, we worship all the triumphs of Sraoša,
accompanied by rewards, the brave, who has the Sacred
Word for body, the brave, the valiant, the warrior
endowed with strength of arm,² the striker of the evil
heads of the demons, who wins triumphs, the trium-
phant, the righteous, who wins triumphs, and also the
Triumphing Superiority, both that of Sraoša, accom-
panied by rewards, and that of the *Yazata* Aršti.³

Phl. 33 We worship righteous Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
rious,.... (= 2, 1st phrase), whom we worship here and
also not here and also elsewhere, all over the earth and
at all times, righteous Srōš, the vigorous, whose body is
the command, the vigorous, the valiant,⁴ who has the
warrior's strength of arm [i.e. he is (well-) trained], the
striker of the evil heads of the demons, triumphant with
triumphs, who is the triumphant one of the righteous,
who is triumphant with triumphs, and also the triumph
through superiority, of both righteous Srōš and the
Yazad Aštād.

Av. 34 vispa nmāna sraošō. pāta yazamaide yeḥhāda
sraošō ašyō fryō friθō paiti. zantō nāca
ašava frāyō. humatō frāyō. hūxtō frāyō. hvarštō.
ahe raya. . . . tāscā yazamaide (= 3-4).
yaθā ahū vairyō aθā ratuš ašātciṭ hacā (*du bar*).

Phl. 34 harwisp mām ī Srōš-pānag yazēm [kē-šān nekīh rāy Srōš
pānagīh kunēd] kē Srōšahlāy dōst ud franāft padirēnd
ud mard-iz ī ahlaw ī freh-humat ī freh-hūxt ī freh-
huwaršt. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah. . . . (= 3-4).

YAŠT 11, TEXT

Karda 1

Av. 1 sraošēm ašīm huraoðēm vərəθrājanēm frādaṭ. gaēθēm
ašavanēm ašahe ratūm yazamaide. nēmō vohu nēmō
vahištēm zaraθuštra gaēθabyō.

Phl. 1 Srōšahlāy ī hurust ī *pērōzgar ī frādādār ī gēhān ī ahlaw
ī ahlāyih rad yazēm. niyāyišn ī weh ud niyāyišn ī pahlom
Zardušt ō gēhān guft estēd [dēn].

Av. 2 taṭ drvatō drvatām *urvaθō. paiti. dārēšta taṭ drvatō
drvatyāscā aši [uši] karəna gava dvarəθra zafarə
dərəzvān pairi. urvaēštēm yaṭ nēmō vohu aḍavīm
aṭbaēšēm naire ḥam. varəitiš drujō *vārəθma. dārēšta.

Phl. 2 hān druwandān bē az druwandān dōstīh dārēd [ka ēk
abāg did ēwkardag nē bawēnd ā pad rāh ī ōy] ud hān
druwandān bē (*az) druwandān ā-šān aš ud ōš ud
*wkkllrn ud gaw ud dwārišn ud zafar ud hān ī druzān
uzwān bē *wardēnēd kē niyāyišn ī weh ī *adawag [aḍūi] ī

Av. 34 We worship all the houses protected by Sraoša, where¹
Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, is (held) dear, beloved
and made welcome, and also the righteous man, whose
good thoughts exceed (his evil ones), whose good words
exceed (his evil ones), whose good deeds exceed (his evil
ones). For his splendour and fortune. . . . (*here repeat 3-4*). *y.a.v.* (2).

Phl. 34 we worship all the houses guarded by Srōš [because of
whose goodness Srōš protects them], which receive² Srōš
(as one who is) beloved and cherished,³ and also the
righteous man, whose good thoughts exceed (his evil
ones), whose good words exceed (his evil ones), whose
good deeds exceed (his evil ones). For his [Srōš's]
splendour and fortune. . . . (*here repeat 3-4*).

YAŠT 11, TRANSLATION

Karda 1

Av. 1 We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of
form, victorious, furthering the world, righteous, master
of righteousness. Prayer is good, prayer is best, Zaratrustra,
for the world.¹

Phl. 1 We worship righteous² Srōš, the well-grown, the victo-
rious,³ furthering the world, the righteous, the master of
righteousness. The good prayer, the best prayer has been
spoken to the world by Zarathustra [the religion].

Av. 2 That is the best repeller¹ of the wicked ones' friendship
for the wicked one;² that is the best crusher¹ of the evil
eyes, [ears],³ evil ears, hands, legs (and) mouth of the
male and female wicked one, which are bound with
fetters;⁴ that, viz. good prayer, non-deceiving,⁵ causing
no harm.⁶ Nairyā Ḥam. varəti⁷ has the best resistance⁸
against the *Drug*.

Phl. 2 That keeps⁹ the wicked ones away from friendship for
the wicked ones [when they are not united with each
other, it is because of that¹⁰],¹¹ and that (keeps) the
wicked ones away from¹² the wicked; it turns away¹³
their¹⁴ evil eyes, intelligence, evil ears(?),¹⁵ hands,

abēš. hān ī mardān ham-*mardābūkīh hān ī druz-wardīh dāštārdom.

Av. 3 sraošō ašyō driyūm θrātōtāmō hō vərəθraja drujəm jayništō. nā ašava āfri.vacastāmō hō vərəθra vərəθra-vastāmō. maθrō spəntō mainyāvīm drujəm nižbairištō ahunō vairyō vacām vərəθrajaštāmō aršuxdō vāxš yāhi vərəθrajaštāmō daēna māzdayasniš vīspaēšu vaŋhušu vīspaēšuca ašō.ciθraēšu haiθya.dātēma aθa dātēm zaraθuštri.

Phl. 3 Srōšahlāy driyōšān srāyišndom hān pad pērōzgarīh druz zadārdom, mard ī ahlaw āfrīn gōwišndom hān pad pērōzgarīh pērōzgardom, mānsarspand hān ī mēnōg druz bē-burdārdom, ahunawar az gōwišnān pērōzgardom hān rāst-gōwišn andar hanjamanān pērōzgardom, dēn ī māzdēsn harwisp wēhīh ud harwisp ahlāyih-ābādīh āškārag-dādārdom ēdōn dād ī Zardušt.

Av. 4 yasca zaraθuštra imaṭ uxdom vacō fravaocāt nā vā nāiri vā aša.sara manaŋha aša.sara vacaŋha aša.sara šyaoθna masō vā āpō masō vā θwaēšō xšapō vā taθrayā aipi.dvaŋarayā apam vā *nāvyanaṃ paiti pərətūš paθam vā paiti vīcarənā narām vā ašaonam hanjamanāiš drvatam vā daēvayasnanam handvaranāiš.

Phl. 4 kē-z Zardušt ēn saxwan-gōwišnīh frāz gōwād nar ayāb nārīg [ēn kardag] pad ahlāyih-sālār menišnīh ud pad ahlāyih-sālār gōwišnīh ud pad ahlāyih-sālār kunišnīh, pad hān ī meh āb ayāb pad meh bīm ayāb pad šab ī tārig ka abar abr ayāb āb ī *nāydāg abar widarag ayāb pad hān ī rāhān <pad> jud-rawišnīh (*ayāb) pad

abodes and mouths, and the tongues of the demons: good, non-deceiving¹⁶ [non-deceiving]¹⁷ prayer, causing no harm; manly valour has greatest power to avert the *Druz*.

Av. 3 Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, is the best protector of the pious;¹ he, the victorious one, is the best smiter of the *Druz*. The righteous man is the best speaker of words of blessing;² he has the greatest power to repel³ by resistance.³ The bounteous Sacred Word is what best removes⁴ the spiritual⁵ *Druz*. The *Ahuna vairyā* prayer is the most victorious of words. The rightly spoken word is most victorious at the request.⁶ The Mazdayasnian Religion is what accomplishes most among all the good and among all whose origin is righteousness, and so (is) the Zarathustrian law.

Phl. 3 To righteous Srōš is the best protection for the poor; he is, victoriously, the greatest smiter of the *Druz*. To the righteous man is the best speaking of blessings; he is most victorious with victoriousness. The bounteous Sacred Word is the best remover of the spiritual *Druz*. The *Ahunawar* prayer is the most victorious of words and that truthful utterance⁷ is most victorious in the assemblies. The Mazdayasnian Religion is the best revealer of all goodness and all prosperity arising from righteousness,⁸ and so is Zarathustra's law.

Av. 4 And the one, man or woman, Zarathustra, who will pronounce this spoken word¹ with thoughts linked with righteousness,² with words linked with righteousness, with deeds linked with righteousness, on³ a great⁴ water, or in a great danger, or in a dark, misty night, or on a bridge⁵ over unfordable⁶ waters, or on the bifurcation of roads, or at the assemblies of righteous men, or at the gatherings of wicked demon-worshippers,

Phl. 4 And the one, man or woman, Zarathustra, who will pronounce this utterance⁷ [this section] with thoughts governed⁸ by righteousness, with speech governed by righteousness, with deeds governed by righteousness, on a great water, or in great fear, or in a dark night when there are clouds overhead,⁹ or on a passage over

mardān ahlawān hamrasišnih ayāb pad hān ī druwandān
dēwēsnaṇ hamdwārišnih.

Av. 5 kahmi kahmicit̄ vā aipyanaṇ kahmi kahmicit̄ vā
araθyanāṇ θwaēšō biwivā nōit̄ dim yava aiṇhe ayan nōit̄
aiṇhā xšapō drvā zarētō zaranumanō zazarānō ašibya
ava.spašticina aoi *ava.spašnōit̄ nōit̄ gaḍahe vazō.
vaθwyēhe t̄baēšō frašticina frāšnuyāt.

Phl. 5 kadār-iz-ē pad kadār-iz-ē abar arāh kadār-iz-ē pad
kadār-iz-ē adādestān ka-z sahm ud ka-z bīm nē ōy
hagriz nē andar hān rōz ud nē andar hān šab druwand ī
āzārdār ī āzār-menišn ā-š āzārēd ā-š pad harw dō aš
pāsbānēnišn pāsbānēnēd nē gadag ī ramag.*wānīdār
[rawēnīdār] pad bēš frāz ham-pursagih pad ham-pursišn.

Av. 6 imaṭca zaraθušt̄ra <imaṭ> uxōm vacō *framruyāt yaṭ
ājasāt̄ *kərəsasca *gaḍō.tišca *daēwica handramana. āaṭ
drvatam daēvayasnanam yātušca yātumatam pairikāasca
pairikavatam t̄baēšō fratərəsan fradvaran. nyāncō daēvō
nyāncō daēvayāzō zafarō *aoi. gaurvayan iḍa rārēšyantō.

Phl. 6 ēn-iz Zardušt̄ saxwan-gōwišnih frāz gōw [ēn kardag], ka
rasē ō *kilisyāg ayāb ō gadagestān ayāb ō hān ī frēftārān
hamdwārišnih, ēg druwand dēwēsna ud jādūg mard ud
zan ud parīg mard ud zan pad bēš frāz tarsēnd ud frāz
dwārēnd; *nihānēnēd dēw *nihānēnēd dēwēzag u-šan
zafar bē gīrēd [az wināh] u-šan ēdōn rēš-išan rēšēd.

Av. 7 yaθaca pasuš.haurvānhō aētaṭ sraošam ašim pairi.
barāmaide yim ašavanam vərəθrājanam aētaṭ sraošam

unfordable waters, or on the bifurcation of roads,¹⁰ or
in the assembly of righteous men, or at the gathering of
wicked demon-worshippers,

Av. 5 or in any undertaking¹ whatever, or in any trial
whatever, when in fear of danger, not at any time,
neither on this day nor in this night, would the wicked
one, angry, in anger, angered,² look at³ him at all⁴ with
his evil eyes, nor would the hostility of the cattle-rustling
thief attain to him at all.⁴

Phl. 5 whoever, on any impassable road⁵ whatever, whoever
(suffering) any injustice whatever, when (in) terror
and when (in) fear, never, neither on that day nor in
that night, will the wicked one, the tormentor, whose
thoughts are bent on torture, torment him, or watch him
at all with his two evil eyes; (neither he) nor the thief⁶
who destroys⁷ the herds [who drives (them) away] in
harmful consultation, in consultation.⁸

Av. 6 And this¹ spoken word, o Zarathustra, may one pro-
nounce² when he comes upon highway robbers,³
thieves,³ or a deceiving³ gathering. Then the hostility of
the wicked demon-worshippers,⁴ the sorcerers⁵ among
those who practise sorcery and the witches among those
who practise witchcraft, will be frightened (and) flee.⁶
Abased⁷ (are) the demons; abased (are) the demon-
worshippers; they⁸ will shut⁹ their mouths, and also the
apostates.

Phl. 6 And pronounce, Zarathustra, this¹ utterance [this sec-
tion] when you come upon a Christian,¹⁰ or upon a den
of thieves, or a gathering of deceivers; then the un-
righteous demon-worshippers, the male and female
sorcerers and the male and female witches are frightened
and distressed,¹¹ and rush away. It makes the demons
disappear;¹² it makes the demon-worshippers disappear;
it takes their mouths away [from sin] and thus inflicts
wounds upon them.

Av. 7 And like shepherd's dogs,¹ so we circumambulate²
Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, the righteous, the

ašim frā.yazamaide yim ašavanəm vərəθrājanəm humatāišca hūxtāišca hvarštāišca.

Phl. 7 ciyōn pasušhōrwan [az duz ud gurg], ēdōn Srōšahlāy bē barēm kē ahlaw pērōzgar. ēdōn Srōšahlāy frāz yazēm kē ahlaw pērōzgar pad humat ud hūxt ud huwaršt

8-9 = Y.57.3-4.

Karda 2
10-13 = Y.57.15-18.

Karda 3
Av. 14 yaθā ahū vairyō. sraošəm ašim....yazamaide (= *I, first phrase*),
yō āxštišca urvaitišca
drujō spasyō spēništahe
avāin aməšā spənta
aoi haptō. karšvairīm zəm
yō daēnō. dišō *daēnayā.
ahmāi daēnəm daēsayaṭ
ahurō mazdā ašava.
ahe raya....tāscā yazamaide (= Y.57.3-4).

Phl. 14 Srōšahlāy.....yazēm (= *I, first phrase*), kē
pad āstih [abāg dāmān] ud dōstih hān ī druz pās-
bānēnišn pāsbanēnēd. ud āyēnd Amahraspandān abar ō
haft-kišwar zamīg pad dēn-nimūdārīh ō dēnīgān ciyōn-
*išān dēn nimūd Ohrmazd ī ahlaw [ka-š ō Zardušt dēn
nimūd, Amahraspandān bē ō gētīg mad hēnd; ka-z ō
awēšān mādēsn ā-z ōh āyēnd]. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud
xwarrah.... (= Phl.Y.57.3-4).

Karda 4
Av. 15 yaθā ahū vairyō. sraošəm ašim....yazamaide (= *I, first phrase*), yim daθaṭ ahurō mazdā ašava aēšmahe

victorious. So we loudly worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, the righteous, the victorious, with good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

Phl. 7 As a shepherd's dog [(protects)³ from the thief and the wolf], thus we observe the worship⁴ of righteous Srōš, the righteous, the victorious. Thus we loudly worship righteous Srōš, the righteous, the victorious, with good thoughts, good speech, and good deeds.

8-9 = Y. 57.3-4.

Karda 2
10-13 = Y.57.15-18.

Karda 3
Av. 14 y.a.v. We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, ... (= *I, first phrase*), who watches over the truces and treaties¹ between the *Drug* and the Most Bounteous (Spirit). The² Aməša Spəntas came down to the earth of seven continents. Who (is) the teacher of religion; to him righteous Ahura Mazdā taught the religion. For his splendour and fortune.... (here repeat Y.57.3-4).

Phl. 14 We worship righteous Srōš (= *I, first phrase*), who in peace [with³ the creations] and friendship watches (carefully⁴) over the *Druz*. The Amahraspandān come down to the earth of seven continents, to reveal⁵ the religion to those devoted to the religion, as the righteous Ohrmazd revealed the religion to them⁶ [when he revealed the religion to Zarathustra, the Amahraspandān came to the material world; and when (he shows it) to them, the Mazdā-worshippers, then they will come thus, too]. For his [Srōš's] splendour and fortune.... (here repeat Phl.Y.57.3-4).

Karda 4
Av. 15 y.a.v. We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, ... (= *I, first phrase*), whom righteous Ahura Mazdā

xrvī.draoš hamaēstārem. āxštīm ham.vaintīm yazamai-
de paratasca mrvayāasca hamaēstāra,

Phl. 15

.....Srōsahlāy.....yazēm (= 1, first phrase), kē-š
dād Ohrmazd ī ahlaw Xēšm ī xurdruš hamēstār, āštīh ud
amāwandīh yazēm ī wad-xwāh ud *nakkīrā hamēstār,

Av. 16

haxaya sraošahe ašyehe, haxaya rašnaoš razištahe,
haxaya miθrahe vouru.gaoyaoitōiš, haxaya vātahe
ašaonō, haxaya daēnayā vaṇhuyā māzdayasnōiš, haxaya
arštātō frādaṭ.gaēθayā varədaṭ.gaēθayā savō.gaēθayā,
haxaya ašōiš vaṇhuyā, haxaya cistōiš vaṇhuyā, haxaya
razištayā cistayā.

Phl. 16

hambrād ī Srōsahlāy, hambrād ī Rašn ī razistag,
hambrād ī Mihr ī frāxgōyōt, hambrād ī Wād ī ahlaw,
hambrād ī dēn ī weh ī māzdēsnañ, hambrād ī Aštād ī
frādādār ī gēhān ī wālišn-dādār ī gēhān ī sūd-dāštār ī
gēhān, hambrād ī Aršišwang ī weh, hambrād ī frazā-
nagīh ī weh, hambrād ī razistag frazānag.

Av. 17

haxaya vīspaēšam yazatanam, haxaya maθrahe spən-
tahe, haxaya dātahe vīdaēvahe, haxaya darəyayā upay-
anayā, haxaya aməšanam spəntanam, haxaya ahmākəm
saošyantam yaṭ bipaitiştanam ašaonam, haxaya vīspayā
ašaonō stōiš. ahe raya.....tāscā yazamaide (= *Y.57.3-4*).

Phl. 17

hambrād ī harwispīn yazdān, hambrād ī mānsarspand,
hambrād ī dād ī jud-dēw, hambrād ī darg abar-rawiśnīh,
hambrād ī Amahraspandān, hambrād ī amāh kē
sūdōmand ī dō-padiştān ī ahlaw, hambrād ī *harwisp
hān ī ahlawān stī. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud xwarrah.....
(= *Phl.Y.57.3-4*).

created as an opponent of Aēšma with the bloody club.
We worship Truce and¹ Reconciliation,² the opponents
of Strife³ and Violence;³

Phl. 15

.....We worship righteous Srōš (= 1, first
phrase), whom Ohrmazd, the righteous, created as an
opponent of Xēšm with the bloody club. We worship
Peace and Strength, the opponents of the ill-wisher⁴ and
of the repudiator;⁴

Av. 16

the two friends of Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, the
two friends of Rašnu the very just,¹ the two friends of
Mithra of wide cattle-pastures,² the two friends of Vāta
the righteous, the two friends of the good Mazdā-
worshipping religion, the two friends of Arštāt,³ who
further the world, who promotes the world, who bene-
fits the world, the two friends of good Aši, the two
friends of good Cisti, the two friends of Cistā the very
straight,¹

Phl. 16

the brothers of righteous Srōš, the brothers of Rašn the
very just,⁴ the brothers of Mihr of wide pastures, the
brothers of righteous Wād, the brothers of the good
religion of the Mazdā-worshippers, the brothers of
Aštād, who furthers the world, who promotes the world,
who benefits⁵ the world, the brothers of good Aršiš-
wang, the brothers of good wisdom,⁶ the brothers of the
very just wise one,⁷

Av. 17

the two friends of all the *Yazatas*, the two friends of the
bounteous Sacred Word, the two friends of the law that
rejects the demons,¹ the two friends of the long tradi-
tion, the two friends of the Aməša Spəntas, the two
friends of ourselves, the *saošyants*,² the two-footed, the
righteous, the two friends of all the righteous existence.
For his splendour and fortune.... (*here repeat Y.57.3-4*).

Phl. 17

the brothers of all the *Yazads*, the brothers of the
bounteous Sacred Word, the brothers of the law against
the demons, the brothers of the long³ tradition, the
brothers of the Amahraspandān, the brothers of our-
selves, the beneficial ones, the two-legged, the righteous,
the brothers of all⁴ the existence of the righteous. For
his [Srōš's] splendour.... (*here repeat Phl.Y.57.3-4*)

Karda 5

Av. 18

yaθā ahū vairyō. sraošem ašim yazamaide (= *I, first phrase*), paoirīmca upēmēmca maðēmēmca fratēm-
ēmca paoiryāca yasna upamaca maðēmaca fratēmaca.

Phl. 18

. Srōšahlāy yazēm (= *I, first phrase*), kē pad hān
ī fradom [Yašt ī Nāwar], pad hān ī abardom [Wisparad],
pad hān ī mayānag [Hādōxt ī Ēk-Hōmāst], pad hān ī
frāzdom [Dwāzdah-Hōmāst ā-z ōh yazišn], pad hān ī
fradom yazišn, pad hān ī abardom, pad hān ī mayānag,
pad hān ī frāzdom yazēnd.

Av. 19

vīspā sraošahe ašyehe
taxmahe tanumaθrahe
taxmahe yazamaide (= *Y.57.33, last part*).

Av. 20

vīspa nmāna sraošō. pāta yazamaide frāyō.
hvarštō (= *Y.57.34, first part*).

Av. 21

kəhrpəm sraošahe ašyehe yazamaide. kəhrpəm rašnaoš
razištahe yazamaide. kəhrpəm miθrahe vouru.gaoyaoi-
tōiš yazamaide. kəhrpəm vātahe ašaonō yazamaide.
kəhrpəm daēnayā vaṇhuyā māzdayasnōiš yazamaide.
kəhrpəm arštātō frādaṭ.gaēθayā varədaṭ.gaēθayā savō.
gaēθayā yazamaide. kəhrpəm ašōiš vaṇhuyā yazamaide.
kəhrpəm cistōiš vaṇhuyā yazamaide. kəhrpəm razištayā
cistayā yazamaide.

Phl. 21

kirb ī Srōšahlāy yazēm. kirb ī Rašn ī razistag yazēm.
kirb ī Mihr ī frāxgōyōt yazēm. kirb ī Wād ī ahlaw
yazēm. kirb ī dēn ī weh ī māzdēsnañ yazēm. kirb ī Aštād
ī frādādār ī gēhān ī wālišn-dādār ī gēhān ī sūd-dāštār ī
gēhān yazēm. kirb ī Aršīswang ī weh yazēm. kirb ī
*frazānagih ī weh yazēm. kirb ī razistag frazānag yazēm.

Av. 22

kəhrpəm vīspaēšam yazatanam yazamaide. kəhrpəm
maθrahe spēntahe yazamaide. kəhrpəm dātahe vīdaē-

Karda 5

Av. 18

y.a.v. We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards,
(= *I, first phrase*), the first,¹ the last, the middle (one)
and the foremost,² with the first, the last, the middle and
the foremost act of worship.

Phl. 18

. We worship righteous Srōš. (= *I, first phrase*),
who is worshipped in the first [the *Nāwar*-ceremony³],⁴
in the higher⁵ one [the *Vispered*] and in the intermediate
one [the *Hādōxt ī Ēk-Hōmāst*⁶], in the supreme one [the
*Dwāzdah-Hōmāst*⁷—thus he is to be worshipped], in the
first, the higher, the intermediate and the supreme act of
worship.

Av. 19

We worship all the triumphs of Sraoša, accompanied by
rewards, the brave, who has the Sacred Word for body,
the brave. (= *Y.57.33, last part*)

Av. 20

We worship all the houses protected by Sraoša.
whose deeds exceed (his evil ones) (= *Y.57.34, first part*).

Av. 21

We worship the body of Sraoša, accompanied by
rewards. We worship the body of Rašnu the very just.
We worship the body of Mithra of wide cattle-pastures.
We worship the body of Vāta the righteous. We worship
the body of the good Mazdā-worshipping religion. We
worship the body of Arštāt, who furthers the world, who
promotes the world, who benefits the world. We worship
the body of good Aši. We worship the body of good
Cisti. We worship the body of Cistā the very straight.

Phl. 21

We worship the body of righteous Srōš. We worship the
body of Rašn the very just. We worship the body of
Mihr of wide pastures. We worship the body of
righteous Wād. We worship the body of the good
religion of the Mazdā-worshippers. We worship the
body of Aštād, who furthers the world, who promotes
the world, who benefits the world. We worship the body
of good Aršīswang. We worship the body of good
wisdom.¹ We worship the body of the very just wise one.

Av. 22

We worship the body of all the *Yazatas*. We worship the
body of the bounteous Sacred Word. We worship the

vahe yazamaide. kəhrpəm darəyayā upayanayā yazamai-
de. kəhrpəm aməšanəm spəntanəm yazamaide. kəhrpəm
ahmākəm saošyantəm yaṭ bipaitištānəm ašaonəm yaza-
maide. kəhrpəm vīspayā ašaonō stōiš yazamaide. ahe
raya tāsca yazamaide (= Y.57.3-4).

Phl. 22

kirb ī harwispīn yazdān yazēm. kirb ī mānsarspand
yazēm. kirb ī dād ī jud-dēw yazēm. kirb ī darg abar-
rawišnih yazēm. kirb ī Amahraspandān yazēm. kirb ī
amāh kē sūdōmand ī do-padištān ī ahlaw yazēm. kirb ī
harwisp hān ī ahlawān stī yazēm. pad hān ī ōy rāy ud
xwarrah . . . (= Phl.Y.57.3-4).

YASNA 56, TEXT

Av. 1

səraōšō iḏā astū ahurahē mazdā yasnāi səvištahē ašaonō
yē.nā ištō hyaṭ paourvīm taṭ ustəməmcīṭ. avaθāt iḏā
səraōšō astū ahurahē mazdā yasnāi səvištahē ašaonō
yē.nā ištō.

Phl. 1

niyōxšišn ēdar *ē ast Ohrmazd ō yazišn [kū yazišn ēdōn
bawād ī Ohrmazd gōš dārād], sūd-xwāstār hān ahlaw
[Ohrmazd] kē amāh xwāstār [ī nēkih], ciyōn fradom
[menišnīg andar ō ēn yazišn estād hēm] ēdōn abdom-iz
[ēdōn menišnīg ā-š sar bē kunēm]. ēdar ēdōn niyōxšišn
*ē ast Ohrmazd yazišn ī sūdemand ī ahlaw kē amāh
xwāstār [ī nēkih].

Av. 2

səraōšō iḏā astū apām vaṇuhīnəm yasnāi ašāunəmca
fravašibyō yā.nō ištā urvōibyō hyaṭ paourvīm taṭ
ustəməmcīṭ. avaθāt iḏā səraōšō astū apām vaṇuhīnəm
yasnāi ašāunəmca fravašibyō yā.nō ištā urvōibyō.

body of the law that rejects the demons. We worship the
body of the long tradition. We worship the body of the
Aməša Spəntas. We worship the body of ourselves, the
saošyants, the two-footed, the righteous. We worship the
body of all the righteous existence. For his splendour
and fortune. . . . (here repeat Y.57.3-4).

Phl. 22

We worship the body of all the *Yazads*. We worship the
body of the bounteous Sacred Word. We worship the
body of the law against the demons. We worship the
body of the long tradition. We worship the body of the
Amahraspandān. We worship the body of ourselves, the
beneficial ones, the two-legged, the righteous. We
worship the body of all the existence of the righteous.
For his [Srōš's] splendour. . . . (here repeat Phl.Y.57.3-
4).

YASNA 56, TRANSLATION

Av. 1

May Harkening¹ be here² for the worship of Lord
Wisdom, the very strong, the righteous, who is wor-
shipped by us,³ both in the beginning and at the end.
Thus may Harkening be here for the worship of Lord
Wisdom, the very strong, the righteous, who is wor-
shipped by us.

Phl. 1

May⁴ there be hearkening here for the worship of
Ohrmazd [i.e. may the worship be such to which
Ohrmazd will lend his ear],⁵ (Ohrmazd), desirous of
promoting benefit,⁶ the righteous, who is a wisher [of
goodness] for us,⁷ as in the beginning [we have begun⁸
this worship thoughtfully], thus also at the end [we shall
complete⁹ it thoughtfully]. So may there be hearkening
here for¹⁰ the worship of Ohrmazd, who possesses
benefit, the righteous, who is a wisher [of goodness] for
us.

Av. 2

May Harkening be here for the worship of the good
Waters¹ and (the worship) for the *fravašis*² of the
righteous, who are worshipped by our³ souls⁴, both in
the beginning and at the end. Thus may Harkening be
here for the worship of the good Waters and (that) for
the *fravašis* of the righteous, who are worshipped by our
souls.

Phl. 2 niyōxšišn ēdar *ē ast ābān wehān yazišn ud ahlaw
frawahr kē amāh xwāstār hēnd ō ruwān [nēkīh], ciyōn
fradom ēdōn abdom [ciyōn fradom andar estād hēm
abdom sar bē kunēm]. niyōxšišn ēdar *ē *ast ābān
wehān yazišn ud ahlaw frawahr kē amāh xwāstār hēnd ō
ruwān [nēkīh].

Av. 3 sēraośō idā astū apam vaṇuhīnam yasnāi vaṇhuš
vaṇuhīnam aməšanamcā spəntanam huxšaθranam huḍāṇ-
ham vohunamcā vaṇhuyāscā ašōiš yasnāi yā.nē āraēcā
ərənavataēcā ašanhāxš. sēraośascā idā astū apam vaṇu-
hīnam yasnāi vaṇhuš ašivā hyaṭ paourvīm taṭ ustəm-
cīṭ.

Phl. 3 niyōxšišn ēdar *ē ast ābān wehān ō yazišn ud kē weh nar
ud kē weh mādag hēnd ud kē Amahraspandān ī
huxwadāyān ī hudāgān ī weh hēnd, ud pad hān ī weh
tarsagāhīh yazišn kē amāh kardār hēm [yazišn kū-mān
tuwān bawād kardan pad tarsagāhīh]; ka ōh kunēm ā-
mān pad ahlāyīh arzānīg [pad mizd]. niyōxšišn ēdōn *ē
ast ābān wehān yazišn ī pad hān ī weh tarsagāhīh, ciyōn
fradom ēdōn abdom [ciyōn-iš fradom andar estād hēm
abdom sar bē kunēm].

Av. 4 avaθāt idā sēraośō astū apam vaṇuhīnam yasnāi vaṇhuš
vaṇuhīnam aməšanamcā spəntanam huxšaθranam hu-
ḍāṇham vohunamcā vaṇhuyāscā ašōiš yasnāi yā.nē
āraēcā ərənavataēcā ašanhāxš. sēraośascā idā astū apam
vaṇuhīnam yasnāi vaṇhuš ašivā.

Phl. 4 ēdōn ēdar niyōxšišn ēdar ē ast ābān wehān yazišn ud kē
'weh nar ud weh mādag hēnd kē Amahraspandān ī
huxwadāyān ī hudāgān ī weh hēnd, ud pad hān ī weh
tarsagāhīh yazišn kē amāh kardār hēm [yazišn kū-mān
tuwān bawād kardan pad tarsagāhīh]; ka ōh kunēm ā-
mān pad ahlāyīh arzānīg [pad mizd]. niyōxšišn ēdōn ē
ast ābān wehān yazišn ī pad hān ī weh tarsagāhīh.

Phl. 2 May there be hearkening here for the worship of the
good Waters and of the righteous *fravašis*, who are
wishers for [the goodness of] our souls; as in the
beginning, thus at the end [as we have begun it at first,
so we shall complete it at the end]. May there be⁵
hearkening here for the worship of the good Waters and
of the righteous *fravašis*, who are wishers for [the
goodness] of our souls.

Av. 3 May Harkening, the good, be here for the worship of
the good Waters and for the good male and female
Bounteous Immortals,¹ of good reign, benign—and for
the worship of the good Reward² that² has been
granted³ to us and that will be granted to us, companion
of Righteousness.⁴ And may Harkening, the good,
possessing rewards,⁵ be here for the worship of the good
Waters, both in the beginning and at the end.

Phl. 3 May there be hearkening here for the worship of the
good Waters and of (those) who are the good male and
female beings,⁶ who are the Amahraspandān, of good
reign, the benign, the good—and for the worship with
good reverence,⁷ whose performers we are [an act of
worship which may it be possible for us to perform with
reverence]; when we perform it thus, it is worthy of
righteousness for us [i.e. of reward]. Thus may there be
hearkening for the worship of the good Waters, with
good reverence, as in the beginning, thus at the end [as
we have begun it at first, so we shall complete it at the
end].

Av. 4 Thus may Harkening, the good, (= Y.56.3)
. for the worship of the good Waters.

Phl. 4 Thus may there be hearkening here. (= Phl. Y.56.
3). with good reverence.

Av. 5

yaθā ahū vairyō aθā ratuš ašātci hacā (*cihār bār*). ašəm
 vohū vahištəm astī (*si bār*). sraošəm ašīm huraoðəm
 vərəθrājanəm frādaṭ.gaēθəm ašavanəm ašahe ratūm
 yazamaide. yeḡhē hātaṃ.....tāscā yazamaide (= *Y.57.4, last part*).

Av. 5

y.a.v. 4; *a.v.* 3; We worship Sraoša, accompanied by
 rewards, fair of form, victorious, furthering the world,
 righteous, master of righteousness. At whose-of-the-
 beings..... (*here repeat Y.57.4, last part*).

COMMENTARY

Commentary on Yasna 57

[In his commentary, the first number indicates the verse (either the Av. or the Phl. version) which the note refers to; the last number corresponds with that found in the translation.]

- 1.¹ Most modern scholars (Nyberg, *Rel*, 66; Gershevitch, *AHM*, 194; Hoffmann, *Aufsätze*, 498 n. 9; Kellens, *Noms-rac*, 36 n. 1; Narten, *AmSp*, 31) are agreed in taking *ašya-* as a derivative of *aši-*, rather than *aša-* (so Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 264). Whereas Nyberg and Gershevitch associate the word primarily with the divinity Aši, Hoffmann, Kellens and Narten—while recognizing that the epithet owes its origin largely to Sraoša's connection with Aši (cf. Y.43.12)—prefer a translation "von Belohnungen begleitet". In view of the close association between divinities and abstract concepts in the *Gāthās*, such an interpretation seems justifiable. Arguments against a translation "friend of Aši" are, first, that no other instances appear to be attested in Avestan where an association between divinities of more or less equal position in the pantheon is expressed through a denominative adjective and, secondly, that the Pahlavi commentators apparently did not associate the adjective with the divinity (cf. below, n. 1.⁸).
- 1.² For this interpretation of Av. *tanu.mqθra-* see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 180-1; cf. below, n. 1.⁹.
- 1.³ For a discussion of the etymology of *darši-* see with references Dehghan, *SrYt*, 55.
- 1.⁴ On the meaning of *āhūrya-*, opinions differ. Geiger (*AmSp*, 212 n. 12) argues that, as an epithet of Sraoša (and also in Yt.13.99,106, where this adjective, together with *taxma-*, *tanu.mqθra-* and *darši.dru-*, is given to Vištāspa and Karšna respectively, probably as a borrowing from Sraoša)—it should be understood as "belonging to Ahura Mazdā", but that, as an attribute of the Aməša Spəntas (Yt.13.82), it may well mean "belonging to the Ahuras". In Benveniste's opinion (*Vrtra*, 47 with n. 1), the adjective has no connection with Ahura Mazdā, but means "lordly" ("seigneurial") and denotes vigour and authority.
- 1.⁵ On the spelling *haca*, as opposed to *hacā* in the *Ahuna vairya* prayer itself (Y.27.23) see Geldner, *Avesta* I, 3, Y.0.3, n. 1.
- 1.⁶ On *ašavan-* "righteous", see below, n. 2.³.
- 1.⁷ On the exchange of *bāj* see Darmesteter, *ZAv.I*, 163-4; Boyce-Kotwal, *BSOAS* XXXIV, 1971, 59-60.
- 1.⁸ The epithet *ahlāy* "righteous", renders Av. *ašya-*; the epithet has apparently become more or less absorbed into the name (on such absorptions, see Bailey, *ZorProb*, 68; cf. the ManMP. *srwš'hr'y*, the proper name of the 'Column of Glory'). The Pāzand and NP. rendering *Srōš i ašō* (cf. e.g. *SrW.0*, q.v.) indicates that this process of absorption was never completed, and that the adjective continued to be regarded to some extent as an independent epithet, whose meaning was apparently felt to coincide with that of *ahlaw* "righteous" (Pāz. *ašō*). The gloss *tarsagāh* "devout, reverent", is regularly used to render the Av. common noun *aši-* "recompense" (cf. Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 94) but not, normally, the name of the Yazata Aši (cf. *AirWb*, 243). It seems unlikely, therefore, that the commentators associated Av. *ašya-* directly with Aši.
- 1.⁹ This translation of Phl. *tan-framān* is based on the meaning of Av. *tanu.mqθra-* (see above, n. 1.²), of which it was evidently the mechanical rendering:

Phl. *tan* represents Av. *tanu-*, Phl. *framān* regularly renders Av. *mqθra-* (cf. *AirWb*, 1179; Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 80), and the compound is built in the same unusual way: just as one might have expected **mqθra.tanu-* in Avestan (cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Composés*, 155; but see Gershevitch, loc. cit.), so one would also expect the first member of a Phl. compound to qualify the second.

It is noteworthy that the Phl. translation of this characteristic epithet of Sraoša with its gloss *kū tan pad framān i yazdān dārēd* "that is: he keeps his body at the command of the Yazatas," removes the meaning from the sphere of prayer, and brings it into that of obedience.

- 1.¹⁰ The Av. epithet *brōiθrō.taēžəm* "sharp at the cutting edge" (cf. Henning, *UnvalaMemVol*, 43), is used of Sraoša's *snaithiš-* in Y.57.31. The word also appears in citation in *Phl.Vend*. 18.14; see further next note.
- 1.¹¹ On the gloss *pad Arzah ud Sawah*, compare *Phl.Y.3.20: srōšahlāy*..... *xwadāy* [*i pad Arzah ud Sawah*], and *Gd.XXVI.55* (BTA, 220): *u-š xwadāyih ēd kū pad Arzah ud Sawah framādār* "and his (i.e. Srōš's) sovereignty is this that he is commander in Arzah and Sawah" (see also Ch. III, pp. 109-10). In *Phl.Vend*. 18.14 (ed. Jamasp, 570), the phrase *srōš*..... *škafī-zēn* is continued, in Av. script: *barōiθrō.taēžim x'tā frašusaiti sraōšō ašyō*. Darmesteter (*ZAv* III, 51) connects *b(a)rōiθrō.taēžim* with Y.57.31 (cf. n. 1.¹⁰), and argues that *frašusaiti sraōšō ašyō* was originally a separate citation from a lost Av. text. He reconstructs the whole phrase as follows: "le pieux Sraosha s'avancant en souverain sur Arezahi et Savahi".
- 1.¹² The word is written *'plyk'nyh*, with a variant *w'plyk'nyh* (cf. Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 85). In *Visp*. 5.1, 11.20, Av. *frasasti-* is rendered *pl'c w'plynk'nyh*, which Dhabhar (op. cit., 86) plausibly emends to *pr'c 'plynk'nyh* (*frāz āfrinagānih*). Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1001) and Dhalla (*Nyaishes*, 36) read *'plyk'nyh* as *āfrinagānih* without comment. That *'plyk'nyh* and *'plynk'nyh* represent the same word, with loss, in the first instance, of the *n*-stroke, is proved by the heading of the Phl. version of *Afr.2* (Dhabhar, *ZXA*, 147): *'plyk'n' plwlt'nyk'n' bwn*, whereas the other *Āfrinagāns* have a heading *'plynk'n'... bwn*. Phl. *āfrinagān* is well attested, while a reading **āfrigānih* as suggested by Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 85), seems doubtful on etymological grounds.
- 2.¹ On *varəθrāgan-* "victorious" see Geiger, *AmSp*, 80; Benveniste, *Vrtra*, 19 ff.; Gershevitch, *AHM*, 158.
- 2.² On the semantic development of *gāeθā-* "living beings, world" see Lommel, *RelZar*, 103-4.
- 2.³ "Righteousness" is an approximate translation of Av. *aša-*, whose original meaning may well have been "truth" (cf. the opposition with *drug-* "lie, deceit"). On the impossibility of rendering the concept accurately by one single word in another language see, however, Kuiper, *IJJ* 5, 1961, 41-2; Boyce, *Hist* I, 27. On *Aša/aša-* in Zoroastrianism and the distinction between the divinity Aša and the principle *aša-*, see Boyce, op. cit., 212-3.
- 2.⁴ On the form *barasman* as an abl. sing. see Jackson, *AvGram*, 90; Geldner, *Metrik*, 18 n. 1.
- 2.⁵ On *mazdā-* as a stem in long *ā*, see S. Konow, "Medhā and Mazdā", *JhāCommVol*, 1937, 217 ff.; Kuiper, "Avestan Mazdā-", *IJJ* I, 1957, 86-94; Humbach, "Ahura Mazdā und die Daēvas", *WZKSOA* I, 1957, 81-94; Thieme in *Zarathustra*, (ed. Schlerath), 406 ff.
- 2.⁶ The form *dāman* (here and Y.9.15) has been variously explained by scholars.

Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 664), J. Schmidt (*Pluralbildungen*, 101), Geldner (*Metrik*, 22) and Schwyzler (*IF* 47, 1929, 260) regard it as a genitive plural. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 734 ff.) takes it as a genitive singular. Seiler (*Relativsatz*, 145) explains the form as an accusative plural, functioning as an accusative of relation. Humbach (*KZ* 77, 1961, 110) convincingly explains *dāmān*, together with forms like *ayān* (*Y.57.31*), as a gen. sing., in which *-ān* represents *IIr. *-ans*, *Ir. *-anāh*, cf. Gath. *-āng*.

- 2.⁷ On grammatical aspects of this *dvandva* see Schmidt, op. cit., 79-80, Wackernagel-Debrunner, *AiGram*, Nachtr. II.1, 46. There has been some discussion about the identity of Pāyu and Ōwōrāštār. Spiegel (*CommAv* II, 427) suggests that *pāyū Ōwōrāštārā*, "the Protector and the Fashioner", may refer to Ahura Mazdā and the Amaša Spēntas. Hübschmann (op. cit., 664-5) argues that Spēnta Mainyu and Anra Mainyu were meant. Darmesteter (*ZAv* I, 360 n. 5) and Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 889) identify the twin beings with Mithra and Ahura Mazdā respectively. Wackernagel (*AiGram* I, 230, §202c; 270, §234b; II.2, 671, §498b) and Leumann ("Der Indoiranische Bildnergott Twaštār", *AsStud* I-IV, 1954, 79 ff.) established the etymological identity of Av. *Ōwōrāštār-* with the name of the Indian fashioner-god Tvaštār. From this, Leumann (loc. cit.) postulated the existence of an Indo-Iranian god *Twaštār, whom Zarathustra has renamed Gōuš Tašan. Gershevitch (*AHM*, 54 ff.) accepts this identification, which had already been suggested by Bartholomae (*ArForsch* III, 25-30), and further argues that Gōuš Tašan is Spēnta Mainyu. He accepts Darmesteter's argument that the word *pāyu-* represents Mithra, and therefore takes *pāyu. Ōwōrāštārā* to refer to Mithra and Spēnta Mainyu. Boyce (*Hist* I, 81-2) agrees that *Ōwōrāštār-*, in the *Gāthās*, denotes Gōuš Tašan, but rejects Gershevitch's identification of the latter with Spēnta Mainyu. She further remarks that outside the *Gāthās* (here and *Y.42.2*), the word *Ōwōrāštār-* appears to be used of Ahura Mazdā himself. In a written communication, Professor Boyce informs me that she now prefers an interpretation of these words as referring to Mithra the protector and *Vouruna Āpām Napāt the creator (cf. *Hist* I, 52).

Whatever the identifications of these divinities in Zoroastrianism, originally they appear to have been concerned with protecting and fashioning (as opposed to 'creating', cf. next note) the creatures of the material world. These functions may explain their connection with Sraoša, who "protects and guards Mazdā's creations" (*Y.57.16*; cf. also Ch. V, p. 166).

- 2.⁸ On the difficulties involved in explaining the form *Ōwōrāsatō* (morphologically a 3 du. ind. pres. act.) as a past tense see Dehghan, op. cit., 57. There is no logical reason, however, why the simple interpretation of the form as a present tense should be impossible. The Indian Tvaštār is explicitly said to fashion children in the mother's womb (cf. Bartholomae, *ArForsch* III, 27-8; Leumann, op. cit., 83), and the fashioning of individual creatures, as opposed to the creation of the species etc., could well be described as a continuous process.
- 2.⁹ Lit. "upon spreading out of the *barsom*".
- 2.¹⁰ On this gloss, which indicates that the Phl. commentators took the *dvandva* *pāyū. Ōwōrāštārā* to refer to Mithra alone, see Darmesteter, op. cit., 360 n. 5; Gershevitch, *AHM*, 54 ff.
- 3.¹ On *rayi-* "riches, high position", see Bailey, *ZorProb*, XXIII. In the present context, the traditional translation "splendour" seems apt.
- 3.² For a discussion of the concept *x'arānah-*, Phl. *xwarrah*, see Bailey, op. cit.,

XVI ff., 1-77; Boyce, *Hist* I, 66-8 with nn. 294, 295, 296. For further references see Dehghan, op. cit., 58.

- 3.³ On *ama-* and *varəθrayna-* see Benveniste, *Vrtra*, 22-3. On *ama-* see also Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* I, 304-5.
- 3.⁴ On *zaoθra-* "libation, offering" see Boyce, *JRAS* 1966, 105; *Hist* I, 149.
- 3.⁵ On the triad Sraoša-Aši-Nairyō.sanḥa see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 194.
- 3.⁶ On grammatical and etymological aspects of the name Nairyō.sanḥa see Duchesne-Guillemin, *Composés*, 138-9; R. Schmitt, *Dichtung*, 99 ff. For a recent translation of the name see Bailey, *MithStud* I (ed. Hinnells), 4 with n. 10 ("the announcer on behalf of the skilled ones (men)").
- 3.⁷ The *Yasna* MSS. have *pad hān i awēšān* [*LHš'n*] *yaštārīh*. Most *XA* MSS. have *pad hān i ōy yazdān* [*LH yzd'n*] *yaštārīh* (Dhabhar, *ZXA*, 112, 349) which, in view of Av. *ahe yasna yazatanqm*, is obviously the correct version.
- 3.⁸ Cf. *Y.56.1* (q.v.): *niyōxšišn ēdar *ē ast Ohrmazd ō yazišn*, "May there be hearkening here for the worship of Ohrmazd." In spite of the gloss there: *kū yazišn ēdōn bawād i Ohrmazd gōš dārād*, "May the act of worship be such to which Ohrmazd will lend his ear" (on which see further *Y.56* n. 1.⁵), it seems probable that *niyōxšišn* and *niyōxšišnōmand* refer to men's hearkening to the divine command, i.e. to the obedient frame of mind with which they celebrate the act of worship.
- 3.⁹ On *dastwar*, see below, n. 24.⁸, and Ch. III, p. 120 ff. Dehghan, (op. cit., 27, 58), on the basis of the *XA* tradition, reads *pad dēn dastwar*.
- 3.¹⁰ Most *Yasna* MSS. have the spelling *'lyšwngc*; M. has *'lyšwngc*. On the various spellings of Aši's name in Phl. see Bailey, op. cit., 3 ff.
- 4.¹ On *apanōtamō* as a part. perf. med. from the root *ap-* "to reach, attain" see Geldner, *Studien*, 79.
- 4.² On the gen. *ašahe* with *apanōtamō* see Geldner, loc. cit.; Schwyzler, *ZII* 7, 1929, 97; Dehghan, op. cit., 58-9.
- 4.³ On the meaning of the *yejhē hātqm* prayer, opinions differ. For a recent discussion, with references, see Boyce, *Hist* I, 262-3 with nn. 51-2, whose translation, based on Henning's interpretation of *Y.51.22* (*apud* Boyce, *BSOAS* XXXII, 1969, 18-9), I have adopted here.
- 4.⁴ Phl. *az*. The glossators apparently took *az ahlāyīh abardom* to mean "superior to righteousness", which is unlikely (cf. also the following *az ahlāyīh mardārdom*, where *az* seems to have the same meaning as in the present instance).
- 4.⁵ Most *Yasna* MSS. have *kardan* [*krt'n*]; M and most *XA* MSS. (see Dhabhar, *ZXA*, *Hāwan Gāh* 10, pp. 48, 313-4) have *kard ēstēd* [*krt' YK'YMWNy'*], which yields better sense in the context.
- 4.⁶ This gloss seems to explain the phrase *az ahlāyīh madārdom* "the most advanced as regards righteousness", by alluding to Ohrmazd's *pēš-xradīh* "prescience" (cf. Av. *paras.xratu-*, *AirWb*, 856).
- 4.⁷ On the Zand see Boyce, "Middle Persian literature", *HdbOr* 1.4.2, 1968, 33-38.
- 6.¹ For this interpretation of *θryaxšišca* etc. see Dehghan, op. cit., 60.
- 6.² Dehghan's rejection (loc. cit.) of Bartholomae's emendation (*IF* 2, 1900, 113) to **ā.maiḍyōi.paitištāna-*, on the grounds that the latter does not account for the locative *maiḍyōi.paitištānasca* as "welche in den Zwischenraum (Schritt) der Beine passen" is, however, hardly convincing. Apart from the fact that, in later texts at least, Avestan regularly uses *gāma-* for "pace" as a measure of distance (cf. Bth., *AirWb*, 522), in all

other attested compounds (see *AirWb*, 1117-9) *maidōyō*⁶ appears to refer to a fixed point in time or space, rather than to distance or length of time. A simpler explanation would be that the twigs were cut off "at (the height of) the middle of the leg".

- 6.³ The MSS. have *wcšn'*. With Mills (*ZDMG* 60, 1906, 76) and Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 204), I read *wēzišn* "selection". Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 652) reads *vazeshmu*, but translates "das Wählen" (ibid., 659).
- 6.⁴ Hübschmann (op. cit., 659 n. 1) calls this gloss "incomprehensible". I take *būd ka* to mean "there were (times) when", i.e. "sometimes", cf. *ast kē* "there is (one) who". If this is correct, the gloss means that Srōš used the different types of *barsom*, as enumerated in this passage, on different occasions. For other interpretations see Mills, *JRAS* 1905, 458 and similarly Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 327; Kanga, *PhlVers*, 47, 54-5.
- 8.¹ On the name Spitāma see Lommel, *IF* 53, 1935, 170-2, and now Mayrhofer, *AvNam*, 77 (rejected by Schlerath, *OLZ* 74, 1979, 28 ff.).
- 8.² Spiegel (*CommAv* II, 428) translates *afsmānivaṇ* as "as metrical texts"; Haug (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 124, 132) and Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 103) translate *afsmān-* as "verse line". Geldner (*VedStud* I, 1889, 287; *BB* 14, 1889, 25-6) challenged this view; in his opinion the word meant "measure", (cf. Phl. *paymān*), hence "metre, something metrical, strophe" and "standard, norm". Boyce (*JRAS* 1966, 108) points out that, in oral composition, it is unlikely that the divisions of verses were thought of as 'lines', and postulates for *afsmān-* a meaning "that which is joined (to another), part, section". She also quotes (ibid., n. 12) Gershevitch's interpretation of the word as 1) "tie, string", and 2) "verse". Hoffmann (*Aufsätze* I, 67) argues that *afsmānivaṇ* stands for **afsma ni-yuvq* "stringing, tying the verse", from the root *yu + ni* "to string, tie" (cf. Ved, *nī yuvati*). Despite the frequent references to "tying, joining" in the above interpretations, it seems possible that the importance of reciting "in verse-lines, in verses" lay in the necessity, in an oral tradition, for reciting the sacred texts (and particularly the difficult *Gāthās*) in such a way that individual lines and verses were kept rigorously distinct from each other.
- 8.³ On the Indo-European background of the compound *vacas.tašti-* (<*vacah-* + *taš-* "to fashion, build") see Darmesteter, *EtIr* II, 116-8; R. Schmitt, *Dichtung*, 14-5. For a different translation of *vacastašti-* ("prose, prose-sentence") see Geldner, op. cit., 287-8. The number of *wacast* (cf. below, n. 8.⁵) given for each *Hā* of the *Gāthās* in *SupplŠnŠ*, Ch. 13 (ed. Kotwal, 40 ff.), corresponds to the number of 'verses' as known to us.
- 8.⁴ Most MSS. have *gaiθr* (for **gāθr*) in Avestan script.
- 8.⁵ I follow MacKenzie's transcription *wacast* (*BSOAS* XXX, 1967, 21; *Dict*, 85); the word is written variously *wcst'*, *wycst'*, and *w(y)cdst'*. The Bodleian MS. Ouseley 125 III, 138 b (ed. Sachau in *SWAW* 76, 1871, 840, I. 14) has a NP. version *vicast*.
- 8.⁶ On *nērang* "formula" see Bailey, *BSOAS* VII, 1933-5, 276-83. Here, the word might also mean "ritual direction or act", cf. Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 187.
- 10.¹ "Pious" is an approximate rendering of Av. *driyu-*; the word probably meant "the true follower of the creed of the Prophet, the meek and the pious who stands firmly on the side of God and makes himself solely dependent on Him" (K. Barr, *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* *dicata*, Copenhagen, 1953, 21-

- 40); cf. also Sogd. *δrywšq-* (*jwšq-*; *zwxšq-*, see Gershevitch, *GramManSogd*, 44, §285). Lommel (*Pratidānam*, 127-9), translates "refugee".
- 10.² For an explanation of Av. *dāiti-* as "stopping, cutting off", see Bailey, *ZorProb*, XV (cf. *AirWb*, 728). On *frāšma-* "glow", see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 233. For a different interpretation of the word ("visible appearance") see Bailey, op. cit., XIV-XV.
- 10.³ On the gen. *hū* (< **huuō* < **huuōnh* (GAv. *x'ōng*) < IIr. **suuāns*) see Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* II, 490-91, and earlier Meillet, *MSL* 9, 1896, 379; *JA* 1920, 192. For different explanations of the form see Geldner, *Metrik*, 18-9; Reichelt, *AwEl*, 31; Benveniste, *BSL* 34, 1933, 22 ff.; Waag, *Nir*, 120.
- 10.⁴ On the formation of *stərəθwant-* see Benveniste, *Pratidānam*, 123 ff.
- 10.⁵ On *viṣrūmant-* "bloodless" in this context see Benveniste, *HenningMemVol*, 39. On the religious significance see Ch. IV, p. 144.
- 10.⁶ On *bāda* see Benveniste (*EsGramSogd*, 174), who identifies Av. *bāda* with Sogd *β'δ* *β'δ* "now then (again)" ("tantôt tantôt"). This is accepted by Gershevitch (*AHM*, 206-7), who translates "at times". In the present context, a translation "then again" seems more suitable than "at times", cf. ManPth. *b'd*, "again" (Boyce, *Word-list*, 26).
- 10.⁷ Geldner (*3Yt*, 91) connects *paiti.x'arhayeiti* with a postulated Skt. root **svas-*, and translates "to coerce, force together ('zusammendrängen'), fence in, force". Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1875) regards *paiti.x'ah-* "to drive back, repel" as a cognate of **hav-* "to spur on". Benveniste (*HenningMemVol*, 39 n. 12) identifies the verb with Sogd. *prw'y-* "to kill". As the verb here describes a recurrent activity, a translation "crushes" seems more apt than "kills".
- 10.⁸ For the interpretation of *aojā* as a nom. sg. of a comparative *aojyah-* see Kellens, *StIr* 4, 1975, 152 ff., and Dehghan, op. cit. 64.
- 10.⁹ Cf. Kellens, op. cit., n. 18.
- 10.¹⁰ *ō ham tāšēd* lit. "puts together, fashions" (= Av. *ham.tāšti*, cf. *Y.47.3*); see further below, n. 10.¹³, and Dehghan, op. cit., 62.
- 10.¹¹ On Phl. *driyōš* "poor" (< Av. *driyu-*), see Barr, loc. cit. (n. 10.¹).
- 10.¹² *kū-šān dahēd*: *dahēd* is probably an explanation of *ō ham tāšēd*: "he creates them". On the other hand, the gloss may also mean "that is, he gives (it, i.e. a house) to them".
- 10.¹³ The grammatical structure of this sentence is puzzling. I have followed Dhabhar's presentation of the text (*PhlYV*, 242), which is the one given by most *Yasna* MSS. The most important variants are: *amahraspandān* for *amāwandān* (K₅, J₂, Mf₄ (with *amāwandān* on margin), KS (with *amāwandān* written over it)); *amāwand andar mānān*, (so most XA. MSS., see Dhabhar, *ZXA*, 113, 350), *mānān* [*m'n'n*] probably being a corruption of *mān ō* [*m'n' w*]).
- The most important divergence from the Av. original is Phl. *amāwandān andar mān* (= Av. *amavaṇ nmānəm*). Unless *andar* is to be taken as a postposition, which would be unusual without a preposition preceding the noun (for early NP. usage see Lazard, *Monuments*, 399-402), the object of *ō ham tāšēd* cannot be *mān* and must therefore be *driyōšān mardān ud zanān*. It seems possible that the commentators mistook the Av. genitives *driyaošca drivyāšca* for acc. plurals. The meaning of the Phl. sentence must then be either, lit. "he fashions the poor men and women as strong ones in the house", i.e. "he transforms them into strong ones", or "he fashions the poor men and women in the house of the strong ones". If one accepts the reading *amāwand*, the sentence would mean either "he makes the poor m.a.w. strong", or "he fashions the poor

- m.a.w., in a strong house". Of these two possible analyses of the phrase, the former appears to yield better sense.
- 10.¹⁴ On the consistent spelling *gwhlwn*, instead of the expected **whlwn* (= Av. *vixrūmant-*) see Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 539), who transcribes *wixrūn* in spite of this spelling. The form may be due to an early sound-change, as e.g. in *gwm'n* from **vimāna-*. Since *gwhlwn(yh)* translates such words as Av. *xrūta-*, *xrūnara-*, *xrūnya-* and *xrūra-*, the word must mean "bloody" rather than "bloodless" (cf. above, n. 10.⁵).
- 10.¹⁵ On *bāstān* "always, frequently, at all times" see Henning *TPS* 1944, 111; Gershevitch, *AHM*, 206-7.
- 10.¹⁶ All *Yasna* MSS. exc. *Mf₄* have *nihān dahišn* [*nyh'n dhšn*] on the translation cf. Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 182. In *Y.34.8*, Av. *nāidyāṇham* is rendered *n'hdyn dhšn* (for **n'hdyn dhšn*, which also occurs elsewhere in Phl. books). On this see Darmesteter, *ZAV* I, 253 n. 24; Mills, *JRAS* 1905, 459 n. 6, and, with references, Dhabhar, op. cit., 173-4.
- 11.¹ Kellens (*Noms-rac*, 92-3) connects **di-* in this compound with Ved. *dhi* "religious thought". He prefers this interpretation to Bartholomae's (*AirWb*, 961) "von hoher Einsicht", "qui ne se justifie que par le soin que la religion indo-iranienne a eu d'insister sur la prestance physique des protagonistes de son panthéon et de ses mythes". To this one may object that "Einsicht", i.e. "insight, understanding", is hardly a physical quality. Clearly **di-* denotes a mental faculty, but whether "thought" or "insight", one can hardly hope to ascertain.
- 11.² *škaft* "hard" translates Av. *daršita-*, cf. Dhabhar, op. cit., 138. *abzār* "powerful" translates Av. *sūra-* (cf. Dhabhar, op. cit., 12) and is not to be confused with *abzār* "instrument" (cf. *Y.57.1*).
- 12.¹ On *vyāxman-* "ceremonial meeting (for the verbal contest)" see Kuiper, "The ancient Aryan verbal contest", *IJ* 4, 1960, 217-81.
- 12.² All *Yasna* MSS. have *bōxt abar* [*bwht QDM*]. Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 653), reads *bē abar*. Mills (*JRAS* 1905, 461) reads *bē ā-t abar*. Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, 243 with n. 3) emends to *bē anōh* [*BR' TMH*] "thither". There appears to be no need for emendation, however: perhaps from its legal use in the sense of "having won a case", *bōxt*, originally "saved", acquired a meaning "victorious, victor". Here, the word thus renders Av. *vavanvā*, "victorious". For the meaning of Phl. *bōxt*, cf. e.g. *Phl. Y.47.6: ātaxš wizārišn bē dahēd ō pahikārdārān* [*kū bōxt ud ēraxt paydāg kunēd*] "Fire will give a decision to the contestants [i.e. it will show the victors and the losers]".
- 13.¹ From *yūnqm aoijštām* to *āsištām*, cf. *Yt.10.98: yō aoijštō yazatanqm.* etc.
- 13.² Against Humbach's explanation (*Gathas* II, 54) of *iša-* as deriving from **aēš-*, on which Dehghan (op. cit., 66) bases his translation of *paitišata*, see Insler, *Gathas*, 161.
- 13.³ "Purposeful" is a tentative translation of *pēš-kāmag* "who has a desire, purpose in advance (and acts accordingly)". Mills (*JRAS* 1905, 460 with n. 3) and Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 92) translate "anticipative, expectant".
- 13.⁴ *abar xwāhēd* is evidently a literal translation of Av. *paiti. iš-* (cf. *AirWb*, 30-1). On *xwāstān* "to want, desire", as a rendering of Avestan verbs for "to worship, pray (for), desire", see Dhabhar, op. cit., 67.

- 13.⁵ All *Yasna* MSS. have *m'zdsn-yt*; in the *XA*. tradition a few variants occur, all but one of which (MS. E) contain the syllable **yt*. As such a syllable has no evident function in this context, it seems likely that it is the result of a mistake which occurred early in the tradition.
- 14.¹ On *ahmāt* see n. 14.⁶.
- 14.² On *nmāna-*, *vis-*, *zāntu-* and *daiṇhu-* see Benveniste, *Mages*, 6-13; Thieme, *MiAr*, 79-80.
- 14.³ Bartholomae (*ArForsch* II, 1886, 71-2; *IF* 3, 1894, 35 with n. 2; *GIP* I.1, 155, §268.11; *AirWb*, 148, 153 n. 4) reads **yeyeinti* (for **iyeyeinti*), which he regards as a 3 pl. ind. pres. act. of a pres. stem *iyay-*, from the root *i-* "to go". Kellens (*Noms-rac*, 13 n. 1), on the basis of K. Hoffmann's findings, suggests that *yeye(i)nti* (cf. *yeyenti* in *Pt₄*) may be a 3 pl. subj. perf. act., but remarks that, in view of the MSS. tradition, an interpretation of the form as a simple present is not excluded. The *Persian Vendidad Sāda* MSS. *Jp₁*, *K₄*, and the MSS. *H₁*, *J_{6.7}*, *K₁₁* of the independent *Indian Yasna Sāda* tradition, have *yeinti*. In view of the relatively rare occurrence of the subj. perf. in Avestan, and of the primary ending **nti* (as opposed to the 3 pl. subj. perf. act. **yeyan* postulated by Hoffmann for *Y.42.6*, apud Kellens, loc. cit.), it seems that the verbal form here, whether originally *yeinti* or *yeyeinti*, is a 3 pl. ind. pres. act.
- 14.⁴ Against Benveniste's translation "abandon" (*DonNatNyberg*, 20-3) for *iθyējah-* see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 178.
- 14.⁵ On the translation "inundation" for *vōiynā-* see Geldner, *3Yt*, 132; Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 1428. Benveniste (*BSOS* VII, 1933-5, 265-274) postulated for the *Itr.* root **vaig-* a meaning "se déplacer par un mouvement rapide, (se) projeter, (s')épandre", and translated *vōiynā-* as "élancement, fait de se répandre". Wikander (*Vayu*, 141-51) accepted Benveniste's etymology; he understands *vōiynā-* to mean "das Kollektiv von Anhängern Aēšma-artiger Kulte". I have adopted the translation proposed by Henning (*BSOAS* XI, 1943-6, 717, n. 184), who identified Av. *vōiynā-* with Sogd. *wynh* "famine".
- 14.⁶ In Bartholomae's opinion (*AirWb*, 9), *ahmāt* means "his (Lat. *eius*)" here: "from his house. . . in whose house". The present passage is, however, the only example Bartholomae gives where the pronoun *a-* has this meaning; his view is presumably based on the premise that *yēhhe* "whose" must have an antecedent meaning "his". Compare, however, *Yt.17.6: hubaoiḍiš baodaite nmānām yēhhe nmāne ašiš vanuhi sūra pāda nidaḥaite* "of sweet scents smells the house (of one) in whose house good Aši, the powerful, sets her feet", where *yēhhe* is used without antecedent. On the form *yēhhe* see Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* II, 649, n. 5.
- 14.⁷ The reading *nmānya*, which was adopted by Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1090-2 with nn. 4, 8), is found in all important MSS. (*Pt₄*, *Mf₁*, *K₅*, *Jp₁*, *H₁*, *J_{6.7}*, *L_{1.2}*). Geldner's reading *nmānaya* is found only in *K₄*, a sister-MS. of *Jp₁*, and in the unimportant *P₆*. But see Humbach, *MSS* 36, 1977, 49f.
- 14.⁸ In the Phl. translation this stanza is a final clause, which presumably continues the sentence beginning with *abar xwāhēd* (*Y.57.13*).
- 14.⁹ On Phl. **wōig* [*wwyk*] (= Av. *vōiynā*), see Wikander, op. cit., 143-4.
- 14.¹⁰ Phl. *padiriftan*, "to receive", is used here and in *Y.57.34* to render Av. *paiti. zanta-* "made welcome".
- 15.¹ Against Henning's interpretation of *kayaḍa-* as "magician" (*BSOAS* IX, 1937-9, 91-2) see Dehghan, op. cit., 70-1.

- 15.² On the basis of the Phl. translation *kastārān zanān*, and of the apparent parallel with Y.61.3 (*kayaḍanqmca...kayeidinqmca...kayaḍaheca...kāidyāscā*), a number of scholars have sought to interpret *kāidyēhe* as a gen. sg. of a form denoting a female counterpart of *kayaḍa-* (so latterly Dehghan, op. cit., 70-1, who explains the form as a mistake for a gen. sg. fem. **kāidyā*, belonging to a nominative *kayeidi-*). The parallel with Y.61.3, and the Phl. translation are hardly sufficient, it seems, to warrant so complex an explanation of what appears to be a gen. sg. masc. of a **ya*-derivative of *kayaḍa-* (so already Hübschmann, *Casuslehre*, 269; Geldner, *Metrik*, 91; Jackson, *AvRead*, 62; Schwyzer, *ZII* 7, 1928, 111-3).
- 15.³ On the use of *jantar-*, *haratar-* and *aiwyāxštar-* with a genitive, to indicate a function of the divinity rather than a specific event, see Benveniste, *Noms d'agent*, 25-6.
- 15.⁴ On *daēvayā* as a gen. sg. fem. of a substantive *daēvi-* "she-demon" see Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* I, 202.
- 15.⁵ All MSS. have *ahūm.mārancō*, which Kellens (*Noms-rac*, 61) has convincingly shown to be a 'pahlavisiation' of the original genitive *ahūm.*mārēcō*.
- 15.⁶ From *yō harata* to *yō vispām* (v. 16) = Yt.10.103.
- 15.⁷ On the meaning and etymology of *fravi-* see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 250 ff.
- 15.⁸ Phl. *frāz ō*, lit. "forth to, up to", translates Av. *fravōiš*, which the commentators apparently did not understand. The words could be taken to mean that Srōš's attention (*nigāh*) goes 'forth to' the whole world.
- 16.¹ Spiegel (KZ 13, 1864, 370) and Jackson (*AvRead*, 102) analysed *zaēnahā* as an instr. sg. of *zaēnah-* "vigilance". Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1650) regarded the form as a nom. sg. of an *an*-stem *zaēnahān-* (cf. also GIP I.1, §188a.2); this view was generally accepted. O. Friš ("Die Stämme auf -an im Avesta", *ArchOr*, XXII, 1954, 38-62) argued that relatively few *an*-stems exist in Avestan. Like Spiegel and Jackson, he explained *zaēnahā* here as an instr. sg. of *zaēnah-*. On the analogy of *x'arənahā* (Yt.1.12), which Friš explains as a nom. sg. of a *van*-stem **x'arənah.van-* (with **ṇha* for **ṇa*, the difference between *ṇ* and *ṇ'* in Av. script being slight), however, *zaēnahā* might also be a nom. sg. of a *van*-stem **zaēnah.van-*.
- On the meaning of *zaēnah-* and cognates see F. W. Thomas, *JRAS* 1946, 11; Gershevitch, *AHM*, 210, 291.
- 16.² The MSS. have *'hw'yh* (for *'hw'byh*?) here and in Y.62.5 (= Av. *ax'afnyqm*). The only possible reading seems to be *axwābih* (so latterly Dehghan, op. cit., 72).
- 17.¹ Jackson (*AJPhil* X, 1889, 86; *AvGram*, 38) explained *hušx'afa* as a nom. sg. of an adjective **hušx'afan-* "slumbering", from an older **sušvapvan(t)-*. Bartholomae (*ZDMG* 46, 1892, 293-4) explained the form as a nom. sg. of the part. perf. act. of *x'ap-*. In his *AvRead* (p. 109), Jackson also mentions this possibility. Bartholomae later gave up this view and analysed the form as a 3 sg. perf. act. of *x'ap-* (GIP I.1, 197-8; *AirWb*, 1862-3), which was generally accepted. On *šx'* for earlier *šy* see Bartholomae, GIP I.1, 167, and, unconvincingly, Schwyzer, *ZII* 7, 1929, 98. Reichelt (*StAuf*, 297) and Szemerényi (KZ 76, 1960, 64) regard **afa* as a corruption of **apa*.
- 17.² On *pascaēta...yaī* "since, after...that" see L. H. Gray, *JAOS* 21, 1900, 118-9; 22, 1901, 149.

- 17.³ On the form *daiḍitam*, as a 3 du. imperf. act. see Bartholomae *HdbAirDial*, 135; KZ 28, 1888, 30; GIP I.1, 66 (§121.2). Against this see Hoffmann (*Aufsätze*, II, 609-10), who regards the form as a 3. du. opt. act. denoting repeated action in the past. Against Hoffmann's assertion (ibid.), however, that the creation of individual good and evil creatures can be regarded as a repeated action in the past, it may be pointed out that no clear instance seems to exist in the Avesta where the root *dā-* is used to denote the fashioning of individual members of a species, as opposed to the species itself, prototypes etc. (cf. *AirWb*, 714-5 and above, n. 2.⁸).
- 17.⁴ For this translation and for a recent survey of the various proposed etymologies and translations of *spənta-* see Boyce, *Hist* I, 196-7 with n. 26. Cf. also Mayrhofer, *EtWai* II, 208-9; III, 356, 404.
- 17.⁵ The discrepancy in case between *vispāiš* and *aynca xšafnasca* (and similar constructions, cf. Seiler, *Relativsatz*, 143 ff.) has been explained in different ways. Jackson (*AvGram*, 90) regards *-qn* as a "general plural case-ending of neuter (*m*)*an*-stems". In Bartholomae's (*AirWb*, *passim*) and Reichelt's (*AwEl*, 223-4) opinion, the instrumental could function either as a subject-case, an accusative or a vocative. Schwyzer ("Die sog. missbräuchlichen Instrumentale im Awesta", *IF* 47, 1929, 214-71) explains the forms as partitive gen. plurals, from older **aišām* **anām*. Against this theory, see Seiler, op. cit., 145 ff.; T. Pobožniak, *FoOr* VII, 1965, 151. Seiler's explanation of the facts (op. cit., 143 ff.) is that the instr. and the nom. acc. neuter can have a similar syntactical function, the 'enumerative function' ("Nennfunktion"), so that, syntactically, there is no discrepancy. Gershevitch (*AHM*, 292) regards this type of combination of instr. and nom. acc. neuter forms as "correct...by YAv. standards".
- 17.⁶ On *haḍa* (here with dat. instead of instr.) with verbs of "fighting", see Pobožniak, op. cit., 144.
- 17.⁷ For this translation of Av. *māzainya-* and Phl. *māzanig* see Henning, "The Book of the Giants", *BSOAS* XI, 1943, p. 54. For a further discussion of the forms see Dehghan, op. cit., 74.
- 17.⁸ In this context, *pēš* must mean "(from then) onwards, thereafter" cf. Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 91, 111. For NP. *pīš* "further" see Steingass, *Dict*, 265. *Pēš tā* presumably means "from that time onwards, ever since", cf. Mills, *JRAS* 1905, 461, n. 1.
- 17.⁹ Most *Yasna* MSS. have *hayyārih tā mēnōgān dām dād* (1), K has *hayyārih mēnōgān dāmān dād*. The *XA*. MSS. MR, U₂, AK, E, have *hayyārih i mēnōgān dām dād* (2), U₃ has *hayyār i*. The *XA*. MS. Mf₂ has *ēwbār tā mēnōgān dām dād* (3); U₁ and D have *ēwbār i*...; D has *hayyārih* written over *ēwbār*; A deletes *hayyārih* and substitutes *ēwbār*.
- 1) *hayyārih tā mēnōgān dām dād* would mean "help, since the Spirits created creation" or "help, so that the Spirits (could) create creation". The absence of a verb or preposition to govern *hayyārih* is unusual. Moreover, since the gloss differs from the preceding phrase only in that it has *hayyārih* where the latter has *pēš*, one would expect the first word of the gloss to be an explanation or qualification of *pēš*.
- 2) *hayyārih i mēnōgān dām dād* "he gave help to the creation of the Spirits", would be grammatically possible; note, however, the dissimilarity of the syntactical functions of the words *mēnōgān dām dād* in the two phrases. One objection against such a gloss is the implication that Srōš gives help to the

creation of *Gannāg Mēnōg*, another that, even if one were to understand *mēnōgān dām* merely as "the creation", it is still difficult to see in what way the statement elucidates the preceding sentence.

3) (*nē*)....*ēwbār tā mēnōgān dām dād* "(not)...once since the Spirits created creation" is also grammatically correct, the syntactical structure of *mēnōgān dām dād* is identical with that of the preceding phrase, and "(not)....once" can be regarded as a further qualification of *pēš*.

It seems probable therefore that, in spite of the fact that the MS. tradition on which the reading is based is inferior to that which supports *hayyārih*, *ēwbār tā mēnōgān dām dād* was the original gloss; so also Hübschmann, *SbbayrAk* 1872, 654, and Mills, *ZDMG* 60, 1906, 79.

- 18.¹ The reading *frānāmāite* (so Bth., *AirWb*, 1041-2 with n. 1), which is based on MSS. of the *Persian Phl.Y.* (P₁, M₁), the *Indian Phl.Y.* (K₅) and *Pers.Vend.* *Sāda* (Jp₁, K₄) traditions, may well be correct, cf. the 3 pl. ind. med. *namante*. The *Ind.Y.Sāda* MSS. H₁, J_{6,7}, K₁₁, however, have *frānāmāite* (so Gdn.).
- 18.² On *θwaēšāi* as an ablative denoting motive or cause see Delbrück, *VglGram* III, 217; Reichelt, *AwEl*, 250, §483.
- 18.³ Jackson (*AvRead*, 54) regarded *anusō* a acc. sg. n., used adverbially, of an adj. *anusah*- "unwilling". Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 129), followed by Brugmann (*IF* 27, 1910, 255), more convincingly explained the form as nom. sg. m. of the well-attested *anusant*- "unwilling", used as an adverb; cf. also Duchesne-Guillemin, *Composés*, 115; Dehghan, op. cit., 75.
- 18.⁴ Caland (*IF* 31, 1912-3, 105) sought to explain the form *tamanhō* as an ablative sg. denoting destination. Reichelt (*AwEl*, 255, §495) hesitatingly suggests the existence of a 'genitive of destination', for which he cites one other instance (*Y.65.2*): *yā vīspanqm hairišinqm*...*paēma avabaraiti*, "welche (zu) den Frauen die Milch bringt"; since, in the latter instance, the words *vīspanqm hairišinqm* could also be explained as genitives of possession, this remains an unconfirmed hypothesis. Schwyzler (*ZII* 7, 1929, 98), followed by Gray (*JAOS* 58, 1938, 318 with n. 20), suggests that the reading *tamanhō* may be due to a defective spelling of a loc. pl. *tamōhva* (so in *Vend.* 19.30; cf. Jackson, *AvGram*, 98, §342; Reichelt, *AwEl*, 187, §355 n. 3). Since *dvar*- usually goes with an acc. of direction (*AirWb*, 765; the only exception being *tamanhō*, here and *Yt.9.4*), an explanation of the form as an irregular acc. pl. n. might perhaps be considered.
- 18.⁵ Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 37) takes *ānāmīdan* to mean, lit. "to bend forward, bow, pray". Compare, however, *Phl.Y.46.1*: *ō kadār zamīg ānāmēm* "to which land shall I... ", where the verb must mean "turn", rather than "bow, pray"; a translation "to turn" also yields good sense in *Y.51.20*: *ō yazišn ānāmēm* "I turn to the worship", rather than "I bow, pray to the worship". Cf. also the transitive verb *ānāftan* (< *nam*- + *ā*; pres. stem *ManMP*. 'n'm, *Phl. ānāb*-) "to turn away (trans.), avert, reject" (see Henning, *ZII* 9, 1933-4, 190; Ghilain, *Essai*, 73; MacKenzie, *Dict*, 8), and *ManPth*. 'bnft, 1) "draw near", 2) "with-draw" (Boyce, *Word-list*, 6).
- 18.⁶ On *bē* as a postposition, in combination with the preposition *az*, to translate Av. *parō* see Dhabhar, op. cit., 64. The commentators apparently regarded the first *parō* as a postposition governed by *θwaēšāi*, on the analogy of *ahmāi parō* in the following line.

- 19.¹ This passage probably derives from *Yt.10.88*; cf. Boyce, *Hist* I, 161, n. 88.
- 19.² For an etymology of the word *frāšmi*- and a discussion of earlier views see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 233, whose translation "glowing" I have adopted here, and, with references, Dehghan, op. cit., 75-6.
- 19.³ On Av. *zairi*- "golden, green" see J. Brough, *BSOAS* XXXIV, 1971, 349-50. On the range of meaning of *zairi*- and cognate words in other Iranian languages see Bailey, "The range of the colour *zar*- in Khotan Saka texts", *MemMenasce*, 371-4.
- 19.⁴ Note the irregular case-endings of the standard phrase *haraiθyō paiti barəzayā* (here and v. 21; *Y.10.10*; *Yt.10.50,90*), where one would expect **haraiθyā paiti* **barəzō* (cf. *haraiθyā barəzō*, *Y.42.3*; *Yt.12.25*). As these forms are well attested in the MSS. tradition, however, the phrase may already have occurred in this form in the parent MS.
- 19.⁵ *kē-š yašt Hōm* must mean "by whom Hōm was worshipped, who worshipped Hōm", cf. *Phl.Y.57.2*: *kē-š... yašt Ohrmazd* (= Av. *yō... yazata ahurəm mazdqm*). The departure from the Av. *yim yazata haomō* "whom Haoma worshipped", is noteworthy; cf. also Mills, *JRAS* 1905, 462.
- 19.⁶ Av. *srīrō* was apparently regarded by the commentators as an adj. qualifying *xšaθryō*.
- 19.⁷ Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 463) and Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 95) read *tarānag* [*tlmk*], but see Bartholomae, loc. cit., n. 1. With Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 654) and Mills (*ZDMG* 60, 1906, 76), I transliterate *tlwk*, cf. NP. *torū* "tender, fragile", which, although regarded as a 'doubtful word' by Steingass (*Dict*, 297), is listed in the *Loghatnāma* (T, 634).
- 19.⁸ *pad bālist abar buland* is translated in the light of the Avestan, although *buland* does not, normally, occur as a noun. Since *bālist* can mean "summit, top" (cf. Dhabhar, op. cit., 61; MacKenzie, *Dict*, 17), a translation "on the summit, the high" may also be possible.
- 20.¹ Humbach's explanation (*Welt der Slaven* 5, Wiesbaden 1960, 324; followed by Dehghan, op. cit., 77) of *pāpō.vacah*- as "whose words are stammered (owing to abuse of Haoma)", runs counter to all we know about the importance attached in the Indo-Iranian tradition to the proper enunciation of the Sacred Word, and is the more unlikely as the word is used of Haoma himself.
- 20.² In *KZ* 27, 1885, 251, Geldner proposed an emendation of this phrase to **pāpō.pairi.gā* "reciting correctly, avoiding errors". In his edition of the Avesta he gave the reading *pairi.gā.vacā*. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 864) plausibly reads **pairi.gā.vacā* (so K_{5,4}, M₁); he postulates an adj. **pairi.gā(y)*- "singing all round". Instead of Duchesne-Guillemin's (*Composés*, 199) "qui chante ses paroles autour de soi", one should probably understand "who chants his words around the object of worship", cf. Lommel, *KZ* 67, 1942, 8.
- 20.³ Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1468) reads *vispō.paisim* (so only K₅), which he derives from a postulated **vispō.pis*-. Since J₂, the sister MS. of K₅, has **paēsīm*, it seems simpler to regard **paisim* as a scribal error. For an explanation of *vispō.paēsī*- as an adjective of colour in *i- see Kellens, *Noms-rac*, 49-52.
- 20.⁴ Perhaps this translation of Av. *pairi.gā.vacah*- can be explained by assuming that the Phl. commentators associated the syllable *gā* with Phl. *gāh* "time", cf. the gloss *i hān gāh gōwēd*....
- 20.⁵ Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 661) translates "he gives authority (*pādixšāyih*) to the pre-eminent", disregarding the fact that *dād* is a past tense and

therefore has a passive meaning. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 844) also reads *pādixšāyih* . . . *bē dād*. Mills (*JRAS* 1905, 463 with n. 3) regards *bē dād* as a qualification of *harwišp-pēšid*: "the all-adorned [which is given on . . .]". It seems more plausible, however, to translate *pādixšāy* . . . *bē dād*, as "who was made sovereign" (cf. Av. *paithmō*, lit. "being master of").

- 21.¹ On *vāraθrayni* "victorious" as a description of Sraoša's house, see Benveniste (*Vrtra*, 22), who suggests that this passage is an imitation of *Yt*.5.101, and that *vāraθrayni* is used here as an equivalent of *sūram* "strong" in the *Ardwīsūr Yašt*.
- 21.² On *viḍāta*- "(firmly) set" see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 196; Kellens, *Noms-rac*, 120.
- 21.³ On *x'araoxšnam* as nom. sg. n. of *x'araoxšna*-, as opposed to Bartholomae's *x'araoxšan*- (*AirWb*, 1855), see Friš, *ArchOr* XXII, 1954, 45-6; Gershevitch, *AHM*, 288-9.
- 21.⁴ Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1606) reads *stāhr.paēsanhām* (so of the *Yasna* tradition only Pt₄, J₇), which he explains as acc. sg. masc. (of *stāhr.paēsah*-) instead of neuter. The form *stāhr.paēsam*, however, is supported by all other important *Yasna* MSS. (J₂, K₅, Mf₁, Jp₁, H₁), and is thus probably the original reading here. A further reason for accepting this reading is that it would yield an octosyllabic line, in a verse which appears to consist entirely of such lines. But see Dehghan, op. cit., 79.
- 21.⁵ On *win(n)ārd* "(durably) fixed" see Henning, *TPS* 1954, 175, n. 1; MacKenzie, *Dict*, 91.
- 21.⁶ Bailey (*ZorProb*, 16) reads *wistard pēšid* "spread . . . and adorned". Since Phl. *star-pēšid* [*stl pysyt*] renders Av. *stāhr.paēsa(h)*- in *Y*.9.26, and since the MSS. have *wstl pysyt*, the transcription *ud star-pēšid* is to be preferred.
- 21.⁷ Bailey (loc. cit.), followed by Gershevitch (*AHM*, 283), translates *az kustagtar nēmag* as "on the sides". In view of the Avestan *ništara.naēmāt* "on the outside", and of the antithesis between *az andar nēmag* and *az kustagtar nēmag*, it seems likely that Dhabhar's translation (*PhlYV*, gloss., 152) "(on the) outside" is correct.
- 21.⁸ Bailey (loc. cit.) has *kū az kustag* "that is . . . on the sides"; the MSS. have *kū az kustag kustag* "i.e. on all sides".
- 22.¹ On the notion that the sacred formulas serve Sraoša as a weapon, see further Ch. III, p. 115, Ch. IV, p. 145, Ch. V, p. 167. On *vāraθrajā* and *vāraθrayni* used in connection with prayers see Geiger, *AmSp*, 81-2; Benveniste-Renou, *Vrtra*, 22; Humbach, *IF* 63, 1957-8, 219. Against Geiger's view (ibid.) that the use of these adjectives ultimately derived from the role which sacred formulas played in the dragon-fight see Benveniste-Renou, op. cit., *passim*.
- 22.² On the basis of the Phl. glosses in the *Nirangestān* (ed. Sanjana, 143v-144r; cf. Darmesteter, *ZAv* III, 127-8; I, 364 n. 34), and the *Vendīdād* (*Vend*.3.31), Darmesteter (loc. cit.) took *yasnō.karāti*- to mean, lit. "performance, conclusion of the sacrifice", and to denote the *yeḥhē hātqm* prayer.
- Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1273) argued that *yasnō* refers to the word *yesnē* in the *y. hāt*. prayer, and translated *karāti*- and **ta*- as "solemn recitation", from the root ²*kar*- (*AirWb*, 466). He compared *yasnō.karāti*-/**ta*- with ²*xšaθrō.karāta*- "recitation of the third section of the *Ahuna vairya* prayer" (*AirWb*, 547). In the present stanza, however, Bartholomae's translation "all the recitations of the *y. hāt*." does not seem to fit in well with the context: a number of different prayers and liturgical texts are said to serve as a weapon to Sraoša; there is no question of several repetitions of the same text.

It may be worthwhile, therefore, to re-examine the Phl. passages on which Darmesteter and Bartholomae based their views: in the *Nirangestān* (loc. cit.), Av. *vispaēbyō yasnō.karātaēbyō* is translated *pad harwispin yazišn-kardārih* [*pad yeḥhē hātqm*] "at every performance of an act of worship [at the *yeḥhē hātqm*]". In the *Vendīdād* (loc. cit.), *baēvarā paiti yasnō.karāitinqm* is rendered *pad bēwar abar yazišn-kardārih* [*ciyōn kē* . . . *hān and yazišn kunēd cand-iš yeḥhē hātqm bēwar andar*] "(as) with ten thousand performances of acts of worship [just as . . . (when) one performs so many acts of worship that ten thousand *y. hāt*. prayers are included therein]".

In both cases, *yasnō.karāti*-/**ta*- is translated *yazišn-kardārih*; the words *yeḥhē hātqm* occur in glosses. They can therefore either be understood as synonyms of *yasnō.karāti*-/**ta*-, or as explanations or qualifications of the preceding phrases. If one chooses the latter alternative, one could infer from the contexts a meaning "a section of the sacred texts which is concluded by the *y. hāt*. prayer".

The meaning "section of the *Yasna*" was postulated for the word by Haug (*Essays*, 190) and Jackson (*AvRead*, 89); the latter derived *karāti*- from a root *kar*- "to cut" (cf. *AirWb*, 452-3 s.v. *karāt*-; so also Insler, *Language* 47, 1971, 580). Compare, however, Skt. *vaṣaṭ.kṛti* "pronunciation of the word *vaṣaṭ*" (Monier-Williams, *Dict*, 930), from the root *kṛ*-, and perhaps NP. *karda*, which point to a derivation from ¹*kar*- "to do".

Most of the translations proposed for *yasnō.karāti*-/**ta*- (e.g. "chapters of the *Yasna*", Lommel, *Yts*, 93; "acts of recitation of the *Yasna*", Dehghan, op. cit., 42) suggest that the authors understood the word *yasna*- here to signify "the rite known in later times as the . . . *yasna*, that is the act of worship" (Boyce, *Hist* I, 156). Originally, however, the word meant plainly "worship" (*AirWb*, 1270-3), and could thus presumably be used of any section of the sacred texts containing such expressions as *yazamaide* "we worship". The word *yasnō.karāti*-/**ta*- may therefore denote the recitation of such an "act of worship". To judge from the glosses, these were concluded with the recitation of the *y. hāt*. prayer, and may thus have corresponded to our *'kardas'*. For a different explanation of the word see Kellens, *Noms-rac*, 222.

- 22.³ This word, which Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 121, 194) transcribes as *yast*, should probably be transliterated *ysā*; it only occurs as a variant of *ysn*; cf. Dhabhar, loc. cit. On *t* as a corruption of *n*, cf. MacKenzie, *Dict*, XIV.
- 23.¹ On the nom. pl. ending ^o*šā* as a result of the contact between Gāthic long *ā* and *s* see Kellens, *Noms-rac*, 312-6.
- 23.² On *haptō.karšvairi*- as a fem. adjective of *haptō.karšvan*- see Bartholomae, *GIP* I.1, 108, §207.2; *AirWb*, 1766; F. Sommer, "Zur Geschichte der griechischen Nominalkomposita", *SbbayrAk*, nF. 27, 1948, 132.
- 23.³ As Darmesteter (*ZAv* I, 365, n. 37) has pointed out, this phrase belongs syntactically to the sentence ending in *gaēθqm* (v. 24). Westergaard (*ZAv*, 105) and Gray (*JAOS* 58, 1938, 319) regard it as the first phrase of v. 24.
- 23.⁴ Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 663, 667) and Kellens (op. cit., 312 n. 1) prefer the reading *daēnayā* to Geldner's *daēnayāi*. The confusion between the readings in ^o*yāi* and ^o*yā*, appears to go back to the early MS. tradition: the *Pers.Ph*.Y. MSS. Pt₄, Mf₁, and the *Skt*.Y. MS. P₁₁ have ^o*yā*; the *Ind.Ph*.Y. MSS. K₅, J₂, which go back to the same MS. tradition, have ^o*yāi*, as do the MSS. of the *Pers.Vend.Sāda* (Jp.) and the independent *Ind.Y.Sāda* (H₁, J_{6,7}). On the syntax of *daēnō.disō* **daēnayā* see Kellens, loc. cit.

- 23.⁵ *hu-zandih* (with *zw* written instead of *z*, cf. Hübschmann, *SbbayrAk* 1872, 655 n. 3) probably means "good knowledge of the Zand". Dhabhar's (*PhlYV*, gloss., 55) translation "good wisdom, intelligence, sense" renders Av. *haozqθwa-* rather than Phl. *hu-zandih*.
- 23.⁶ Most *Yasna* MSS. have *amahraspand*; K and most *XA*. MSS. have *amahraspandān*. The context clearly requires a plural.
- 23.⁷ Whereas in the Avestan original *Sraoša* is called "teacher of religion", the Phl. translation attributes this function to the *Amahraspandān*.
- 24.¹ "who" translates *yō* in the preceding stanza, cf. n. 23.³.
- 24.² Bartholomae's reading (*AirWb*, 450) *fracaraitē* (so Pt₄, *Pers.Phil.Y.*) is adopted here, as an indicative seems to suit the context better, and as, in the two other places where *frā.kar-* occurs with *vasō.xšaθrō* (*Yt*.9.17; *Yt*.10.112), medial forms are also used. Geldner's reading *fracarāiti* is supported, however, by MSS. K₅, J₂ (*Ind.Phil.Y.*). See also Dehghan, op. cit., 82.
- 24.³ A similar passage occurs in *Yt*.10.92, cf. Gershevitch, *AHM*, 235-6.
- 24.⁴ So Gershevitch, loc. cit.; cf. also Benveniste, *Vttra*, 47.
- 24.⁵ *frāz rawēnd* continues the sentence beginning with *kē pad hān i ōy* in the preceding stanza; the subject is *amahraspandān*, cf. nn. 23.^{6,7}.
- 24.⁶ *kē hān i ōy dēn* renders Av. *aya daēnaya*. Mills' translation (*JRAS* 1905, 464) "the bodily worlds, whose *Dēn*" is hardly convincing. In view of the general sense of the passage and of the gloss (... *dēn i Srōš* ...), the antecedent must be *Srōšahlāy* (v. 23); *kē hān i ōy dēn*, like Av. *aya daēnaya*, is the beginning of a new passage.
- 24.⁷ The word *dēn*, which normally means "religion", must, in this context, denote the sphere of activity over which the *Yazad* presides; cf. the following gloss and below, n. 24.⁸.
- 24.⁸ On the expression *dastwar dāstan*, "to have a *dastwar* (i.e. a priest who is in authority)" used in connection with *Srōš* see Ch. III, pp. 120-3. Dehghan's rendering of the passage (op. cit., 82): "Die Religion des den *Srōš* für massgeblich Haltens wird in Bewegung gebracht (und) die (Religion) des Mihr nicht Betrügens", fails to take into account the nature of the gloss as an explanation of *hān i ōy* (cf. above, n. 24.⁶).
- 24.⁹ Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, 245) omits the second *Mihr*, without reference. The word occurs, however, in the *Yasna* MS. J₂ (*MS. J₂*, ed. Mills, 631, l. 10), one of the MSS. which Dhabhar has collated for his text, and in all the *XA*. MSS. except *Mf₂*; the other *Yasna* MSS. are not available to me. Both Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk*, 1872, 655) and Mills (*ZDMG* 60, 1906, 80) include it in their presentation of the text. Moreover, a second *Mihr* appears to be required by the context.
- 25.¹ This stanza is identical with *Yt*.10.93 (cf. Wikander, *Männerbund*, 61), except for the initial *frā*, which does not occur in the *Mihr-Yašt* passage. It is probably a repetition of *frā* in the preceding stanza, cf. Geldner, *Metrik*, 22; Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 886.
- 25.² The genitive *aheca anhāuš yō astvatō* was explained by Schwyzler as an oblique case (*ZII* 7, 1929, 99-100); it seems more satisfactory to regard it as a gen. denoting time (cf. Reichelt, *AwEl*, 261, §507).
- 25.³ The MSS. tradition (with the exception of the *Skt.Y.* MSS. J₄, K₆, P₁₁, which have *drvaṭibyo*, with *ṭ*) seems to support Geldner's reading *drvaṭibyo*. But see Dehghan, op. cit., 84.

- 25.⁴ Geldner's reading *haēinaēibyō* is supported only by MS. Jp₁.
- 25.⁵ On *draoman-* "deception" and *drāvaya-* "to deceive, lead astray", from a root **drav-* "to lead astray", see M. Schwartz, *JRAS* 1966, 119-22.
- 25.⁶ The gloss "in the fifty-seven years", which also occurs in *Yt*.43.3, refers to the period from the birth of the Sošyans until *Frašegird*, the 'Renovation' at the end of time, when the last battle will be fought and the dead will be raised, cf. *GBd.* XXXIV. 7, (BTA, 287). On the 'fifty-seven years' see Mills, *JRAS* 1905, 465 with n. 4; Jackson "The 'Fifty-seven Years' in the Zoroastrian doctrine of the Resurrection", *JRAS* 1928, 1-6; Boyce, *Hist* I, 291.
- 25.⁷ All *Yasna* MSS. omit a translation of Av. *xrūrām*; the *XA*. MSS. AK, U₂, MR, A, have the hapax **xruwig* [*hlwyk*].
- 26.¹ = *Yt*.10.94.
- 26.² On *zavar-* "speed" see Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* I, 258 ff.
- 26.³ On *pouru.spaxšti-* "much watchfulness" see with references Gershevitch, *AHM*, 170. Thieme (*BSOAS* XXIII, 1960, 272-3) connects Av. *pouru* with Ved. *parus* "joint", and translates "espionage of the joints, vulnerable spots".
- 26.⁴ On *aurvaθa-* "enemy" or, used adjectivally, "inimical", see H. P. Schmidt, *Vrta*, 123.
- 26.⁵ On the spelling *zwhl* for *zōr*, see Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 1689-90; Bailey, *ZorProb*, 91, n. 1.
- 26.⁶ Mills (*JRAS* 1905, 465) translates "with sudden victory of opponents", apparently regarding *pad* as a preposition governing *wānidārih*. Such an analysis is neither in accord with the Av. text, where the compound *haθrā.nivāitīm* is object of *dayā*, nor is it necessary. The expression *pad āgenēn* (var. *abāg āgenēn*) "in union, together, all at once" occurs a number of times to translate Av. *haθra* (cf. *AirWb*, 1762-3; Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss. 28). It seems probable, therefore, that *pad-āgenēn-wānidārih* is a compound rendering Av. *haθrā.nivāitīm*.
- 26.⁷ The Phl. translation has maintained the word-order of the Avestan original. It is difficult to assess the syntactical function each of the words was felt to have. With Mills (loc. cit.), I translate the words as nouns in apposition.
- 27.¹ This passage—from *yim* to *sraēna*—also occurs in the *Mihr Yašt* (*Yt*.10.68); there, the antecedent of *yim* appears to be *vāšām* "(Mithra's) chariot", cf. Gershevitch, *AHM*, 105.
- 27.² Gershevitch's translation of *frādarasra-* "transparent" (op. cit., 218), seems plausible. It is, however, only a possibility; a translation which renders *darasra-* as "visible" seems to be equally tenable. *Frādarasra-*, which only occurs together with *raoxšna-* "brilliant", may be an elaboration of the latter: "brilliant, clearly visible" (cf. Phl. *frāz paydāg*). Since Ahura Mazda's soul (*Yt*.13.81) and Paradise (*Vend*.22.1) are described as visible phenomena, an adjective "clearly visible, visible afar" does not seem to be an impossible qualification (*pace* Gershevitch, loc. cit.).
- 27.³ For this translation of *mainivasah-* cf. Gershevitch, op. cit., 170-1.
- 27.⁴ Av. *asaya* is rendered in Pahlavi as **nē-sāyag* [*ns'yk*]. The use of *nē* as a privative prefix before a noun is unusual. The reading is supported, however, by the gloss *kū ōy ēw sāyag nēst* "i.e. he has no shadow at all" (*XA*. MSS. U₃, D) and the NP. gloss *na-sāya* "without shadow" (*XA*. MS. U₃). The *XA*. MS. MR has *nisāg* [*ns'k*] "bright, splendid", which is attested in Parthian (cf. Henning, *MirMan* III, 59; MacKenzie, *Dict*, 60).

- 27.⁵ The *Yasna* MSS. Mf₄, KS and the *XA*. MSS. U_{1,3}, D have *zl'y'npt krt'* (variants: *Y*. MSS. K₅, J₂: *zlys'spt*; *XA*. MSS. MR, A: *zl'yynpt*; AK, U₂: *zlys'spt*; E; *zls'spt*; Mf₂: *z'y'nptn*). Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 656 with n. 11) reads *zarābān patukarta* "sind... vergoldet"; Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 796, 1678) reads *zarr... patkart ēstēt*; Mills (*ZDMG* 60, 1906, 81; *JRAS* 1905, 466 with n. 4) has *zarā(n)yān pat'-kart'* "gold has been fitted on them"; he further suggests the readings *zarxayā* "gold-bodied", *zar-dakyā-saz(i)t* (= *zarr-pāk-sazid*) "gold-adequately-prepared" (without further explanation of the form **saz(i)d* [sci] "prepared"), and *zarāšūft* (= *zarr-āšuft*) "gold-scattered-over". The latter reading was followed by Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 113) but in view of the meaning of NP. *āšuftan* "to agitate, disturb", it is unlikely to be correct.

Since **pt* is joined to the preceding characters in the MSS., no verb **ptkrtn* is attested elsewhere, and a word *zl'yynpt.kl'n* (cf. *'sym'yynpt.kl'n* as a variant of *asēmgarān* [*sym.kl'n*] in *Phl.Vend.* 8.88, ed. Jamasp, 363) renders Av. *zaranyō. saēpa-* in *Vend.* 8.87, it seems likely that the letters *zl'y'npt* represent one word or, probably, compound. How this is to be read remains, however, uncertain.

- 27.⁶ Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 656, 663), Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1557) and Dhabhar (*TrslZXA*, 221) read *'plkpšk* as two separate words: *abar kašag*; Darmesteter (*ZAv* I, 366, n. 48), Mills (*ZDMG* 60, 1906, 81) and Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 11) read *abar-kašag*, which Dhabhar translates as "hoof" (cf. NP. *kaš*). As the context is obscure, it remains doubtful whether *abar* is a preposition or part of a compound noun here.
- 28.¹ On the use of the dual for Sraoša's four horses, see Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 342; Schwyzer, *ZII* 7, 1929, 100-102. On the use of the dual for a plurality of things which occur in pairs, see further Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* I, 224 n. 11; 314 n. 2.
- 28.² For the reading *hu.patarataēibya* "well-winged" here (so K₅, J₂, *Ind.Phil.Y.*), as opposed to Geldner's *patarataēibya*, see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 270.
- 28.³ So Gershevitch, loc. cit., cf. Darmesteter, *ZAv* I, 366, n. 50.
- 28.⁴ The superlative in **dom* must clearly be understood as a comparative here.
- 28.⁵ The *XA*. MSS., except U_{1,3}, Mf₂, D, AK, have a gloss *mēy* "cloud, mist".
- 28.⁶ In view of the fact that *Phl. tan* frequently renders Av. words beginning with *ast* (cf. Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 98), Mills' assumption (*JRAS* 1905, 466, n. 5) that *hu-tan* "able-bodied" renders Av. *hvastayā* "well-shot" (so too Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 1852), is probably correct. Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 636) translates *ŠDYTWNyit* as a past participle ("geworfene"), but in view of the ending **yt*, it must be a 3 sg. pres. *wihēd*, with *ōy hu-tan* "the able-bodied man" as its subject.

The *XA*. MSS. U₃, D, U₁ (in margin), add a gloss *kū tigr bē handāzēd tēzdom az ariēštār mard* "he shoots an arrow faster than a warrior", where the subject appears to be Srōš himself, rather than his horses.

- 29.¹ On *apaya-* "to cause to reach, to overtake" see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 232; Thieme *MonNyberg* III, 344.
- 29.² Jackson (*AJPhil* X, no. 37, 1889, 86) and Bartholomae (*GIP* I.1, 78, §141) regard *āfante* as 3 pl. ind. pres. med. of a present stem *afa-*, from *ap-* (with *f* < **pv*); against this see Benveniste (*DonNatNyberg*, 19), followed by Gershevitch (op. cit., 173-4), who derives the form from a passive stem in **ya-* from *ap-* (< **āfyantai*).
- 29.³ On *vazəmna* "speeding along" see Thieme, op. cit., 354.

- 29.⁴ Thieme (op. cit., 431-8) has convincingly shown that *frāyataya-* must be a causative. The meaning he postulates—mainly on the basis on the Indian evidence—for the Ir. root *yat-*, "to take up a firm position", seems less convincing in the Avestan passages where forms from this root occur, such as the present stanza, than Benveniste's "to arrive at one's (natural) place" ("La racine *yat-* en indo-iranien", *Indo-Iranica*, 21 ff.). Moreover, the meanings which verbs from this root have in several Mlr. and Nlr. languages accord well with an original meaning "to arrive at one's destination" (cf. Benveniste, art. cit.). Benveniste, however, regards *frāyataya-* as an intransitive verb "they arrive at their destination", a view that should be modified in the light of Thieme's remarks. Therefore, I take *frāyatayeinti* to mean "they cause... to arrive", with *yim... sraošam* as its object.

- 29.⁵ Thieme's explanation (op. cit., 345) of the words *vaēibya snaiθižbya* as an elliptical dual for "Schlagwaffe und Wehr", is no more than a hypothesis. No other instances seem to be attested in Avestan of an elliptical dual with *uva-* "both" (cf. *AirWb*, 399-400). Kellens (*MM*, ed. U. Bianchi, 703-16) takes *vaēibya snaiθižbya* as antecedent of *yačciṭ... yačciṭ*, and identifies the 'two weapons' with the rising and setting of the sun ("avec ses deux armes, celle qui est saisie à l'est de la limite (orientale du monde), et celle qui est abattue à l'ouest (de la limite occidentale du monde)", op. cit., 709). As the grammar of the present passage, when interpreted in this way, is more correct than that of *Yt.* 10.104, and as Kellens regards this description as fitting for Sraoša, whom he calls a "dieu diurne" and a "dieu lumineux", he concludes that *Y.57* is older than the hymn to Mithra, and also that Sraoša and the Waters have served as "bridge-heads" for the introduction of Mithra and Anāhita into the Zoroastrian pantheon. Against this, it may be pointed out that, far from being a "diurnal divinity", Sraoša is lord of the last nightwatch (cf. Ch. III, p. 117), that his protective powers are said to be exercised especially at night (cf. *Y.57*.10,16, and Ch. III, p. 115 ff.), and lastly that, whereas Mithra is often depicted as flying from one end of the world to the other, Sraoša is characteristically said to come towards the earth (cf. Ch. V, p. 167 with n. 17). Even if Kellens' grammatical analysis of the passage should be correct, therefore, the symbolism he finds there can originally have applied only to Mithra. The different levels of grammatical accuracy of the two passages may be due to the hazards of a long oral tradition.

- 29.⁶ This passage—from *yačciṭ* onwards—also occurs in *Yt.* 10.104, where it seems to fit in better with the context (cf. Lommel, *ZII* 1, 1922, 202-3, but see previous note). For a survey of the various translations of the passage, see Gershevitch, op. cit., 251-2.

- 29.⁷ Cf. *Yt.* 10.104, where the subject is probably the *miθrō.aojah-* "the violator of the contract" (see Gershevitch, op. cit., 253). But see Kellens, loc. cit., cf. above, n. 29.⁵.

- 29.⁸ A number of important MSS. (J₂, H₁, Jm₁, B₂, O₂) have *həndvō*. On *hindu-* "(natural) frontier" see Thieme, *HenningMemVol*, 447-50. For the interpretation of the form as a regular loc. sg. see Dehghan, op. cit., 94-5.

- 29.⁹ On the reading *āgaurvyete* "he is caught", as a 3 sg. ind. pres. pass., see Lommel *ZII* 1, 1922, 203-4, foll. by Gershevitch, loc. cit., and further Kellens, loc. cit.

- 29.¹⁰ On *niyne* "he is struck down", as a 3 sg. ind. pres. med. with a passive sense, cf. *mrūye* "it is spoken", see Lommel, loc. cit.; Gershevitch, loc. cit.; Kellens, loc. cit.

- 29.¹¹ The subject of *ayābēd* "he attains, reaches", must be Srōš, its object *awēšān harwispin pasih* "the rear of all those"; see further next note.

- 29.¹² *pasih* "rear" is written *B'T'XLYh* (for **B'TL'XLYh*) cf. Dhabhar, *ZXA*, Introd., 25-6; *PhlYV*, gloss., 60. Dhabhar's emendation (ibid.) to *pas-iš* "from behind him or it", does not appear to yield good sense.
- 29.¹³ Hübschmann (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 663) translates *pas hilēd* as "was hinterhergeworfen wird"; Mills (*JRAS* 1905, 467) as "which... starts after one". Neither of these translations is satisfactory; *pas hištan* means "to leave behind" (cf. MacKenzie, *Dict*, 43, and NP. *pas hištan* "id.", *Loghatnāma*, P, 357.).
- 29.¹⁴ The whole Phl. translation of this passage differs radically from our interpretation of the Avestan. The subject of *frāz rasēd* must be *ōy sneh* "his weapons"; *ōy* "his" is then explained by the words *kē weh Srōšahlāy* "those of good righteous Srōš".
- 29.¹⁵ The antecedent of *kē... ud kē-z* can either be *Srōšahlāy* (so Hübschmann, loc. cit., and Mills, loc. cit.), or *ōy sneh*. Since *kē... ud kē-z* "the one that... and also the one that", appears to refer to two things or entities rather than one (cf. *Phl.Y.57.17*: *mēnōgān... kē Spenāg Mēnōg ud kē-z Gannāg*), and since *rasēd*, whose subject in the beginning of the passage is *sneh*, is used again in the gloss with *kē-z* as its subject, I take the relative clauses to refer to Srōš's two weapons.
- 29.¹⁶ As Mills (op. cit., 467 with n. 2) has suggested, *nō* in Av. *niyne* appears to have been understood by the translators as a negative prefix, whence *nē zanēd* "it does not strike".
- 29.¹⁷ Lit. "and also the one that". If the grammar is correct, this probably refers to the first-mentioned weapon. In view of the contrast *nē zanēd* / *bē zanēd* it is conceivable that *kē-z* is to be understood as **ka-z* ("and also, when it does strike..."), and refers to the last-mentioned weapon.
- 30.¹ On the form *bərəzō*, as a nom. sg. m. of *bərəzant-* see Benveniste, *Inf*, 36. As the word seems to describe the divinity's outward appearance here (cf. the following *bərəzyāstō* "high-girded", and the Phl. translation *buland pad tan* "high in stature"), it should probably be translated as "tall"; in less specific contexts (e.g. vv. 3, 4), a translation "high" seems preferable.
- 30.² So all MSS. For proposed emendations, see Dehghan, op. cit., 97.
- 31.¹ The reading *avazaitē* (so the *Pers.Phl.Y.* MSS. Pt₄, Mf₁, and the *Pers. Vend. Sāda* MSS. K₄, Jp₁; cf. *°zaiti* in the *Ind.Y.Sāda* MSS. H₁, J_{6,7}) appears to suit the context better than the subjunctive form in *°zāiteji* (so the *Ind.Phl.Y.* MSS. J₂, K₃, followed by Geldner). Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1389) suggests that *avazō* may be haplography for **avavazō*.
- 31.² On *brōiθrō.taēža-* cf. n. 1.¹⁰.
- 31.³ On the prefix *hvā* see Duchesne-Guillemin, *Composés*, 27, 46, and further Gershevitch, *AHM*, 157, n. 3.⁵. On *vaēya-*, see Benveniste, *BSOAS* VII, 1933-5, 267.
- 31.⁴ So Mills (*JRAS*, 1905, 467), cf. also NP. *tā cand bār* "how many times" (Steingass, *Dict*, 271); *tā* seems to render Av. *ā* in *āθritim* (cf. *AirWb*, 302).
- 31.⁵ It seems probable that the words *burāg-tēz* are to be taken as a compound here, with *tēz* instead of the usual *tēx* "sharp-edge", because it renders the Av. form *taēža-* (instead of *taēya-*, cf. *AirWb*, 623). So already Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 973). Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 66) also appears to adopt this view, but reads *burāg ī tēz* in his text.
- 31.⁶ The text has **hu-āyōxtār* [*hw'ywht'ī*] "joining, yoking well", which is hardly

appropriate as a qualification of a sword. I have adopted Bartholomae's emendation (*AirWb*, 1855) **huwēxtār* "good to thrust"; cf. also Hübschmann's reading (*SbbayrAk* 1872, 657 with n. 10) *huāwēxtār* "die... wohl herabkommt" (ibid., 663), cf. NP. *āvixtan* "to attack, fight" (Wolff, *GlFird*, 43-4).

- 32.¹ On *snaθāi*, lit. "for the striking", see Benveniste, *Inf*, 43.
- 32.² Geldner (*3Yt*, 100, 136; *Av* I, 204) has the reading *xrvīm.draoš* (so here only J₂); against this, see Caland (*KZ* 31, 1892, 267-8), O. Richter (*IF* 9, 1898, 205), and Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 540), who read *xrvī.draoš*, which seems to be supported by the MSS. tradition.
- 32.³ The word *snyh* is to be read here, it seems, as *snāh* "blow, smiting".
- 32.⁴ *ā-š az-iš bawēd*, lit. "then it will be from him, it", hence "this will be done by him, it". The gloss may refer either to Srōš himself or to his sword (cf. v. 31).
- 33.¹ Darmesteter (*ZAv* I, 267 n. 54) explains the form *ainiḍaṭ* as a shortening of **anyadāṭ*. This interpretation was rejected by Schwyzler (*ZII* 7, 1929, 103-11), who remarks that a formation "un-here" is unknown in other IE. languages, and regards *ainiḍaṭ* as the result of arbitrary extension of the use of privative *anō*, or as an *ad hoc* formation. He further points to the similarity between *iḍaṭca ainiḍaṭca* here, and (*i*)*yadacā anyadacā* (i.e. *iadacā aniyadacā*) in *Y.35.2*. The latter phrase, however, may well represent original **idacā anyadacā* (with mistaken *iada* because of *aniyada*), and Darmesteter's view therefore seems more probable.
- 33.² *bāzuš.aojaṇhō* can either be taken as a qualification of *sraošahe* or of *raθaēštā*; as the adjective occurs with *raθaēštā* in *Yt.10.25*, I prefer the latter alternative. On the compound *bāzuš.aojaṇ-* see Duchesne-Guillemin, *Composés*, 15-6; Gershevitch, *AHM*, 181.
- 33.³ Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 205) takes *aršti-* to be synonymous with *Arštāt*. (On the meaning of the name of the latter divinity see Gershevitch, op. cit., 286-7). Bartholomae's view was rejected by Hertel (*Siegesfeuer*, 70), followed by Herzfeld (*ApI*, 286), who explained *arštōiš* as a gen. sg. of *aršti-* "spear, lance". If this is correct, *yaṃca arštōiš yazatahe* means either "and that of the spear of the *Yazata*", or "and that of the *Yazata Aršti* (= Spear)". An objection to the former solution is that Av. *yazata-*, when following a proper name or noun with which it agrees in case, is normally a qualification of that word. Hertel's argument (loc. cit.) that a spear could well be called *yazata-* since the Aryans thought of all things as persons, is hardly convincing.
- As the suffixes *°ti-* and *°tāt-* both form feminine abstracts (cf. Jackson, *AvGram*, 220, 232), and as the *Yazata Arštāt* has a connection with *Sraoša* in that both are associated with *Mithra* and *Rašnu* (cf. Gershevitch, loc. cit.; Boyce, *Hist* I, 59, 203), there are good grounds for accepting Bartholomae's view that *Arštāt* is mentioned here under a slightly different name (cf. also the Phl. translation *Aštād*).
- 33.⁴ For the reading *ham-*mardābūk* see Dehghan, op. cit., 100.
- 34.¹ On *yeḥhāda* as an abl. sg. f. with a nom. pl. antecedent cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 1212; on the use of the ablative to denote 'the place where' see Caland, *KZ* 30, 1892, 296-70; Reichelt, *AwEl*, 251, §484. Note that the MSS. H₁, J_{6,7}, and others of the independent *Ind.Y.Sāda* tradition have *yeḥhāt* here.
- 34.² The *Yasna* MSS. have *MKBLWNx²* (cf. Henning, *BSOAS* XII, 1947, 58-65). A

number of *XA*. MSS. have *padirēnd* [*MKBLWNynā*], which fits in well with the syntactical structure of the passage.

- 34.³ For this translation of Phl. *franāft*, cf. Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 81: "give, . . . profess . . . gratify". For a possible explanation of *franāft* as a rendering of Av. *friθa*- see Dehghan, op. cit., 103.

Commentary on Yašt 11

- 1.¹ Geldner (*Studien*, 115), apparently emending *gaēθābyō* to **gāθābyō*, translated "Gute Verehrung, beste Verehrung, o Zarathuštra, (deinen) Gāthās". The emendation is not supported, however, either by the MS. tradition or by the Phl. translation.
- 1.² In most *XA*. MSS., Av. *ašya*- is generally rendered by Phl. 'hlwb', which normally represents *ahlaw*. That 'hlwb' should be regarded in these cases as a misspelling of *ahlāy* is suggested by a number of variants: so here in MS. J₁ (ed. JamaspAsa-Nawabi, 109, 1, 5) 'hlh'; elsewhere (Dhabhar, *ZXA*, 348, n. 21.¹) 'h'lh, 'hlh', etc.
- 1.³ The two MSS. that have the first sentence (MR, A), both have *pērōzgarīh* [*pylwcklyh*] "victoriousness". Dhabhar (op. cit., 107, 345), in accordance with Phl. Y.57.2 and with the general sense of the passage, emends this to *pērōzgar* [*pylwckl*] "the victorious".
- 2.¹ The discrepancy between the case-endings of *paiti.dārāšta* and *pairi.urvāēštām* has caused some discussion about the nature of the forms. Geldner (*Studien*, 118) regards both words as agent nouns, from *darš*-¹ and *urvāēs*- respectively. For the anomalous ending of *pairi.urvāēštām*, he compares *māratō bāratāca* (*Vend*.2.3; on these forms see further Benveniste, *Inf*, 34-5). Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 831) emends the first word to **paiti.dārišta*; he takes both forms as superlatives, connecting **paiti.dārišta* with ³*dar*- "to hold, keep back" (*AirWb*, 739 s.v. *dārišta*-), and *pairi.urvāēštām* with a stem **pairi.urvaya*-, from ³*var*- "vertere" (*AirWb*, 866). The ending of **paiti.dārišta* he explains as nom. sg. masc. instead of neuter. Hoffmann (*Aufsätze* I, 396) analyses *pairi.urvāēštām* as nom. sg. n. of a superlative in **šta*- from a root *urvi*- "to crush" (cf. Skt. *vli*- "to crush" and Av. *urvinyant*- "zerknickend, zu Fall bringend", *AirWb*, 1546). H.-P. Schmidt (*Vrata*, 123, n. 30) calls Bartholomae's reading **paiti.dārišta* "attractive", but rejects his explanation of *pairi.urvāēštām* as "forced". He therefore prefers Geldner's interpretation of the forms as agent nouns, and further suggests that one might take *paiti.dārāšta*, with Geldner, as an agent noun, and *pairi.urvāēštām*, with Hoffmann, as a superlative, so that no grammatical anomaly would exist.

If one accepts Hoffmann's plausible explanation of *pairi.urvāēštām* as a superlative, (*paiti*.)*dārāšta* (here and at the end of the stanza) as an agent noun would be the sole exception in a series of superlatives functioning as parts of the

¹ In translating *paiti.dārāšta* as "Abwehr", Geldner apparently assumes for Ir. *darš*- a wider meaning than Bartholomae's "to dare" (*AirWb*, 699): possibly "to dare, be bold, be violent", which in the light of Av. *darš*- "bold", possibly GAv. *dārāš*- "active attack, act of violence" (so *AirWb*, 743, but see Humbach, *Gathas* II, 14; foll. by Kellens, *Noms-rac*, 37), and Skt. *dhṛs*- "be strong, bold" (cf. Monier-Williams, *Dict*, 519), seems possible.

predicate in nominal phrases (beginning with *vahištām* in v. 1 and ending with *haiθya.dātama* at the end of v. 3). Compelling reasons would therefore be required to justify the analysis of *paiti.dārāšta* as anything other than a superlative. In view of the anomalous ending of *adavīm* (acc. sg. masc. instead of neuter) in the same passage, the ending of the form can hardly be regarded as such. It seems preferable, therefore, to regard both forms as superlatives, the former with Bartholomae, the latter with Hoffmann.

- 2.² The reading *aurvaθō*, which was adopted by Geldner, is attested in one line only of the Indian MSS. tradition (F₁, E₁, Pt₁) which, according to Hoffmann (*Aufsätze* I, 205), has no special authority in the case of texts such as *Yt*.11; the independent MS. J₁₀, and P₁₃ and L₁₈, which are influenced by the vulgate tradition, have *urvaθō*. Of the Iranian tradition, the good MS. K₃₆, and MS. W₁, have *urvatō*.

Darmesteter (*ZAv* II, 483) translates *drvatō* and *aurvaθō* as objective genitives, *drvatqm* as a gen. pl. qualifying *aurvaθō*. (Bartholomae-) Wolff (*Av*, 222) and Lommel (*Yts*, 89) translate all three forms as objective genitives. Against the interpretation of *aurvaθō* as a gen. sg. see H.-P. Schmidt, op. cit., 123. Schmidt (ibid.) explains *drvatō drvatqm* as an emphatic expression of the type *satyasya satyam*; he further points out that the Phl. translation *dōstih* "friendship" speaks against the reading *aurvaθō* (from *aurvaθa*- "enemy, inimical"; Phl. transl.: *adōst*; cf. *AirWb*, 200). He therefore considers the readings *urvatō* (loc. sg. of *urvaiti*- "pact") and *urvaθō* (nom. sg. of *urvaθa*- "friend"); these readings would yield the translations "(das *nāmah*.) das die Lügner (oder: den Lügner) der Lügner in dem (mit uns geschlossenen) (Freundschafts-)Vertrag abwehrt", and "das . . . als (unser) Freund . . ." respectively.

Gershevitch (*JAOS* 79, 1959, 199-200) reads *urvaθō*, and regards **urvaθō*. *paiti.dārāšta* as a compound "best repeller of friendship" (from *urvaθā*- "friendship", cf. *AirWb*, 1537), governing the two genitives *drvatō* and *drvatqm*: "the best repeller of the liars' friendship for the liar". This interpretation seems to make good sense and corresponds in meaning with the Phl. translation.

- 2.³ The *ahuric* word *uši* does not appear to belong in this series of *daēvic* terms. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 414 s.v. *uš*-, n. 5), followed by Schmidt (op. cit., 123 with n. 31) suggests that it may originally have been a gloss to *karāna*- which was inserted in the text. The position of the gloss *uši* before the word it is intended to explain (*karāna*), is probably due to an error in the oral tradition owing to the similarity in sound between *uši* and *aši*. The MSS. of the Indian tradition proper have *ušas* (F₁, Pt₁) or *ušasa* (E₁), pointing to a tradition where *uši* had come to precede *aši*.
- 2.⁴ The reading *dārāzvañ* is uncertain, cf. *AirWb*, 743.
- 2.⁵ On the anomalous ending of *adavīm* see above n. 2.¹.
- 2.⁶ Against Bartholomae's analysis (*AirWb*, 70) of *aṭbaēšām* as nom./acc. sg. n. of an *ah*-stem *aṭbaēšah*-, with transfer to the *a*-declension, see HJ. Frisk, *Nominalb*, 59, and Humbach, *IF* 63, 1958, 215, n. 18, who derive the form from an *a*-stem *aṭbaēša*-.
- 2.⁷ On the etymology of *ham.varati*- see Gershevitch, *AHM*, 162; on the divinity see Boyce, *Hist* I, 59 with nn. 246-7; 203.
- 2.⁸ Darmesteter (loc. cit.) and Lommel (loc. cit.) translate *drujō vārəθma dārāšta* as "having (it, i.e. prayer) as a cuirass against the *Drug*". (Bartholomae-) Wolff (loc. cit.), largely followed by Schmidt (loc. cit.), translate "Manly H., (acting)

as a cuirass, best repels the *Drug*". Against the translation of *vārəθman-* as "cuirass", however, see Schmidt (op. cit., 123, n. 29) who translates "defence" ("Wehr").

On the analogy of Gershevitch's analysis of **urvaθō.paiti.dārašta*, it seems possible to take **vārəθma.dārašta* as a compound "having best defence", with *drujō* as an objective genitive.

- 2.⁹ MSS. MR, A, have *dārēd* [YXSNNyl]; the other MSS. have *dārāy* [YXSNN'y] "may you keep", which does not yield good sense.
- 2.¹⁰ For this translation of *pad rāh i ōy* see Nyberg, *ManPhl* II, 166; Dhabhar, *TrslZXA*, 198.
- 2.¹¹ On the explanatory gloss in the margin of MS. D see Schmidt, op. cit., 124 with n. 34.
- 2.¹² In view of the syntax of this sentence, it seems that an **az* is to be restored after *bē* (cf. the first *bē az*).
- 2.¹³ MSS. MR, A, U_{1,2,3}, D, E have *wardēd* [wltyr]; Darmesteter (*EtIr* II, 334) reads *gardēnēd*; Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 866 s.v. *pairi.urvaēšta-*) reads *wardēnēd*.
If, as seems likely, *hān* is still subject of the verb, a transitive verb (**wardēnēd*) is required. The reading *wardēd*, however, which would yield a translation: "then their evil eyes...turn away", is not impossible. The only formal objection might be that the verb is a 3 sg. instead of pl., which would be unusual (cf. Brunner, *SyntWMIr*, 184) but possible (cf. *Phl.Y.57.29: kē ōy sneh harw dō frāz rasēd*). Yet the fact remains that it is doubtful whether the translators could have mistaken Av. *taṭ* for a nom. pl. masc. here. Furthermore, if one were to adopt the latter solution, the explanatory phrase *kē niyāyīšn* would refer to a word (viz. *hān*) which would have no function in the preceding part of the sentence. An emendation to **wardēnēd* is therefore to be preferred.
- 2.¹⁴ Reading *ā-šān aš* (so U₃, E₁, D₂), with Darmesteter (loc. cit.) and Dhabhar (op. cit., 198 with n. 3).
- 2.¹⁵ The Phl. word rendering Av. *karəna*, which is variously written **kkllkrn*, **kkllk*, **kkrrn* is otherwise unknown. One may assume it to have the same meaning as its Avestan counterpart.
- 2.¹⁶ On Phl. **adawag* "non-deceiving" see Bartholomae, *MirMu* I, 24 with n. 1.
- 2.¹⁷ The gloss *aḍūi* is the Pāzand rendering of Phl. **adawag* ['dwk'], probably added here to distinguish the latter from *ēk* ['ywk'].

- 3.¹ On Av. *driyu-* "pious" see Y.57, n. 10.¹. In Wikander's opinion (*Männerbund*, 54), the expressions *driyūm θrātōtamō* and *θrāyō.driyutama* (*Āfr.* 3.4) are variations on the Gathic *θrāyōidyāi dragūm yūšmākam* (Y.34.5). On *θrātar-* with acc. see Benveniste, *Noms d'agent*, 20.
- 3.² On *āfri.vacah-* "having words of benediction, malediction" see J. Narten, "Idg. 'Kinn' und 'Knie' im Avestischen", *IF* 74, 1969, 48 n. 21; 51 ff. (Exkurs); Kellens, *Noms-rac*, 95-6.
- 3.³ Against Bartholomae's translation (*AirWb*, 1420) of *¹vərəθra-* as 1) "attack", 2) "victorious attack, victory", Benveniste (*Vtira*, 5 ff.) argued that *vərəθra-* from an IE. base **wer-* "fermer par une clôture", basically means "resistance", hence "power of resistance", "shield" (cf. Bartholomae's *²vərəθra-* "Wehr, Schild", *AirWb*, 1421), and "hostility".

To this interpretation Gershevitch (*AHM*, 158-63) objected that, wherever the context gives an indication of the meaning of *vərəθra-*, the word seems to denote an active concept. He proposed for the word, which he derives from the

same base as Lat. *valeo*, a range of meanings "physical fitness—strength—valour", and distinguishes this *vərəθra-* from the first component of *vərəθrayna-* "victoriousness, ability to overcome *vərəθra-*", for which he concedes that Benveniste's interpretation and etymology may be correct.

Gershevitch's etymology, in turn, was criticized by Kuiper (*IJ* 5, 1961, 41) on the grounds that it does not account for the function of the formative morpheme *tra-* (**tro-*).

This objection, combined with the fact that Gershevitch has to postulate two different words *vərəθra-*, detracts considerably from the plausibility of his etymology. Yet his argument that *vərəθra-* denotes an active concept appears to be valid. The question then arises whether Gershevitch's basic assumption—viz. that "resistance, warding off" must necessarily have a connotation of passivity—is correct. It seems entirely possible that speakers of Avestan considered defensive actions to be as actively martial as offensive ones.

- 3.⁴ Against Benveniste's translation (op. cit., 14) of *nižbara-* as "qui repousse" see Gershevitch, op. cit., 159.
- 3.⁵ On *mainyava-* see, with references, Gershevitch, op. cit., 170-1.
- 3.⁶ On *yāh-* "request (insofar as the word clearly defines an oratorical act)" see J. Narten *apud* Kellens, op. cit., 131; for a recent survey of the various interpretations of the word see Kellens, op. cit., 130-1.
- 3.⁷ Phl. *hān rāst-gōwišn* apparently refers to the *Ahunawar* prayer (cf. Dhabhar, *TrslZXA*, 199, n. 3.2); *gōwišn* must therefore mean "utterance" rather than the abstract "speech" in this context.
- 3.⁸ The rendering *ahlāyih-ābādih* for Av. *ašō.ciθra-* is unusual; normally, the word appears to be rendered by *ahlāyih-paydāgih* "manifestation of righteousness" (cf. *AirWb*, 240; Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 2).
- 4.¹ On the expression *uxδam vacō* "the spoken word" as a *figura etymologica* see R. Schmitt, *Dichtung*, 265 with n. 1530.
- 4.² On the uncertainty in determining the stem of *aša.sar(a)-* see Kellens, *Noms-rac*, 392.
- 4.³ Darmesteter (*ZAv* II, 483 with n. 13) proposes to delete the second *masō vā*; he apparently regards *θwaēšō* as a nom. sg. of a present participle, governing *masō vā āpō*: "quand il a peur des eaux débordantes".
Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 793) derives the form *θwaēšō* (instead of **θwaēšanhō*) from *θwaēšah-* "fear, danger"; he regards the forms *āpō*, *θwaēšō* and *xšapō* as genitives of time or place (*apud* Wolff, *Av*, 222; cf. Reichelt, *AwEl*, 261, §507).
- Lommel (*Yts*, 90) translates the forms as causal genitives ("because of a great water, or great danger"), a function more properly belonging to the instrumental (cf. Reichelt, op. cit., 236-7, §451).
- Herzfeld's translation (*AMI* II, 60-1) of *θwaēša-* (sic) as "desert" does not appear to yield better sense in the present context, or in any of the other places where the word occurs (Y.57.18, q.v.; Yt.11.5, q.v.; Yt.13.20).
- 4.⁴ On the etymology of Av. *mas-* "long, great, big" see Kellens, op. cit., 356.
- 4.⁵ Note the similarity between this passage and Y.42.1: *apamcā parātūš yazamaidē. paθamcā vicaranā yazamaidē. paθamcā hanjamanā yazamaidē.*
- 4.⁶ MSS. F₁, E₁, Pt₁, have *nāvyānam*, which is probably the correct form (so Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 1064; cf. OInd. *nāvyā* "navigable", *nāvyā* f. "navigable river", on which see Wackernagel-Debrunner, *AI Gram* II.2, 808, §651 e). Elsewhere (e.g. Yt.10.14; 13.10), the MS. tradition has *nāvyō*, without variants

(so here Geldner). The meaning "navigable" was challenged by Herzfeld (op. cit., 62 ff.) on the grounds that there are no navigable rivers in the area referred to in *Vend.* 14.16, where the word occurs. Kent (*JAOS* 62, 1942, 269 ff.; *OPers.* 193 s.v. *nāviyā-*) plausibly suggested a semantic development from "navigability" to "impossibility of fording . . . on foot". For different interpretations of the word see Henning, *BSOAS* XII, 1948, 309 ("deep"), and Benveniste, *Vrtra*, 60 with n. 3 ("rushing waters, rapids").

4.⁷ On *saxwan-gōwišnih*, cf. Dhabhar, *TrslZXA*, 200, n. 4.2.

4.⁸ On *ahlāyih-sālār* (= Av. *aša.sara*) "having righteousness for a leader, governed by righteousness" cf. *Phl.Y.* 35.8: *ahlāyih. . . . sālārih* (= Av. *ašahyā. . . . sairi*) "the leadership of righteousness" (cf. Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 2).

4.⁹ "When there are clouds overhead" is a tentative translation; *ka abar abr* may be an attempt to render Av. *aipi* and *dvqnarayā* separately. Dhabhar (*TrslZXA*, 200) translates "when the clouds are threatening".

4.¹⁰ Most MSS. have *pad hān i rāhān pad jud-rawiṣnih*. MR and A leave out the second *pad*, which is probably the correct version, cf. *Phl.Y.* 42.1, where Av. *paḥmā vicaranā* is rendered *hān i rāhān jud-rawiṣnih*.

5.¹ On the form *aipyānqm*, from *aipyaya-* with dissimilation of the second **ya*, see Bartholomae, *GIP* I.1, 184, §306; *AirWb*, 86.

5.² In Bartholomae's view (*AirWb*, 1670, n. 2), the interpretation of *zazarānō* as a perf. part. middle is uncertain. He suggests that the form may belong to an *an-*stem *zazaran-* "furious" (*AirWb*, 1687). Against this see O. Friš, *ArchOr* 22, 1954, 44-5.

5.³ Geldner's reading *ava.spašnaoī* is not attested. The important Indian MSS. *F*₁, *E*₁, *Pt*₄ have the apparently obscure *avi.spastavaī*. The good Iranian MS. *K*₃₆ has *ava.spašnaōī*; the old MS. *Jm*₄ has *ava.spasnōī*. Bartholomae's **ava.spašnōī* (*AirWb*, 1614 with n. 5), which corresponds in mood with the following verb *frašnūyāt*, may therefore be correct. The translation "would look" etc., is adopted here to render the value of the 'potential optative', cf. Reichelt *AwEl*, 319, §653.

5.⁴ The translation "at all" renders Av. *ava.spašticina*, lit. "by looking at all" and *frašticina*, lit. "by attaining at all" respectively. On the formation of *frašti-* see G. Liebert, -ti-, 97.

5.⁵ *Phl. arāh* ['r's], lit. "un-path", i.e. "impassable road, devious path". Dhabhar (*TrslZXA*, 201, n. 5) mentions a NP. translation *bī-rāh* "id.".

5.⁶ Darmesteter (*Etlr* II, 335, n. 2) reads the *Phl.* rendering of Av. *gaḍahe* as *sk* "Scythian". Bartholomae's reading (*AirWb*, 488) *gdk* is more convincing.

5.⁷ The majority of MSS. have *lmkwynyt'i*; MR has *lmkwyt'i*. Dhabhar (op. cit., 201, n. 4) is probably right in accepting the reading *ramag-wānidār* [*lmkw'nyt'i*] (so E).

5.⁸ On *ham-pursagih* [*hmpwrsēyh*] see Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 31, 86. Darmesteter (op. cit., 335) reads *ham-pursiš*; Bartholomae has *ham-pursih* (*AirWb*, 1025).

The commentators apparently derived Av. *frašti-* and *frašnuyāt* from the root *fras-* "to ask".

6.¹ Geldner reads *imaīca. . . imaī uxḍam*. On the reasons for deleting the second *imaī* see Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* I, 205. In the *Phl.* version, only MS. D has a second *en* here.

6.² Gdn.: *framruyā*. For the reading *framruyāt* see Hoffmann, loc. cit.

6.³ Gdn.: *kəratasca gaḍōtušca daevišca*. For the reading adopted here see Hoffmann, op. cit., 200-6.

6.⁴ The grammatical structure of this passage is obscure and probably corrupt. Darmesteter (*ZAv* II, 484) translates "Alors s'enfuit effrayée la malice des méchants adorateurs de Daēvas, des Yātus et de ceux qui sont livrés aux Yātus . . .", leaving unexplained the discrepancy in case between *daēvayasnanqm* (gen. pl.) and *yātusca* (on which see below, n. 6.⁵). Wolff (*Av*, 223 with n. 4) translates "dann werden die feindlichen (Eig. "die Feindschaft der Daēva-anb. . .") druggläubigen Daēvaanbeter, die Zauberer unter den Zauberei treibenden und . . . in Angst geraten (und) sich davonmachen". Lommel (*Yts*, 90 with n. 1) takes *drvatqm daēvayasnanqm* as partitive genitives qualifying **daēvišca handramana* ("eine teuflische Rotte von gottlosen Teufelsanbetern"). The particle *āat*, however, which normally occurs at the beginning of a sentence or clause (*AirWb*, 303-7) speaks against this solution.

Since the passage plainly does not admit of a grammatically unobjectionable interpretation, one may perhaps adopt Wolff's solution, which seems to do justice to the cases of the words if not to their sequence, as the least unsatisfactory.

6.⁵ In view of the nom. pl. *pairikāšca* one might have expected **yātavō*. Darmesteter (loc. cit.), Wolff (loc. cit.) and Lommel (loc. cit.), translate *yātušca* as a nom. pl. In view of the corrupt grammar of the whole verse, it seems possible that the composers meant *yātušca* (perhaps for the acc. pl. *yātūšca*; so only the rather bad MS. *J*₉), to denote the nom. pl. of *yātu-*.

6.⁶ The forms *fratərəsqn* and *fradvarqn*, which Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 803) describes as 'worthless', are here translated as 3 pl. subj. act. (cf. **barqn*, *vərəzyqn*; see Reichelt, *AwEl*, 134, §261), with *daēvayasnanqm. . . . ībaēšō*, *yātušca* and *pairikāšca* for subject (cf. also Bailey. *TPS* 1936, 95).

6.⁷ Darmesteter (loc. cit.), Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1095) and Kellens (*Noms-rac*, 294) translate *nyāncō* as adjectival forms qualifying *daēvō* and *daēvayāzō*. In a footnote, Wolff (loc. cit., n. 5), followed by Lommel (loc. cit.), suggested a translation "(zur Erde) abwärts gerichtet senkten die Daēvas. . . (ihren) Mund", thus translating *nyāncō* as an adverb qualifying *aoi.gaurvayqn*. Since *nyāncō* is attested in *Vend.* 19.46 as an adjective qualifying *daēvayāzō*, and no clear instances of an adverbial use of the form occur, the former analysis seems more probable. Kellens' (loc. cit.) translation of the words as exclamatory phrases seems to be in keeping with the spirit of the passage.

6.⁸ Darmesteter (loc. cit.) and Kellens (loc. cit.) take *rārāšyantō* as subject of *aoi.gaurvayqn*. The use of *iθa* "likewise", which occurs in similar passages at the beginning of an elliptic phrase (cf. *AirWb*, 365), so that *rārāšyantō* would be subject of a second, implied *aoi.gaurvayqn*, makes it likely that the subject of the verb is "they", i.e. the *daēvō* and *daēvayāzō*.

6.⁹ The reading *aoi.gaurvayqn* (so Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 527; Kellens, loc. cit.) appears to be better attested (*F*₁, *E*₁, *Pt*₁) than Geldner's *ava.gaurvō* (*K*_{36.16}). The meaning is uncertain; Darmesteter's (loc. cit.) and Kellens' (loc. cit.) "to shut" makes good sense in the context. Or perhaps "clap their hands over their mouths (in terror)"?. Cf. OInd. *abhi.grabh-* "grip, take hold of" (v. Böhtlingk, *PeiWb* II, 189).

6.¹⁰ Darmesteter (*apud* West, *SBE* V, 200, n. 1 and *ZAv* I, 82 with n. 5) and West (loc. cit.) accepted Neryosang's translation of *klsy'k(yk)* as "belonging to the Christian religion" (cf. Gk. *ekklēsia* and NP. *kalisā*; for further references see

Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 149). Wikander (*Vayu*, 136-7) rejected this explanation and derived the form from an OIr. **kəṛasyāka-* (cf. Av. *kəṛasa-* "highway robber"). The fact that the word occurs repeatedly with *hrōmā(yig)* "Byzantine" (for references see Dhabhar, loc. cit.), lends support to the former view. It seems possible that *klsy'k* was a learned word originally meaning "robber", whose meaning was gradually forgotten and which, through association with Gk. *ekklēsia*, was later understood as a pejorative term for "Christian".

6.¹¹ *pad bēš frāz tarsēnd*, lit. "they will be frightened with affliction".

6.¹² MS. D has *ny'h'nynt*; E: *nyh'nyt*; the other MSS.: *nyhynyt*. In *Vend.* 19.46 (ed. Jamasp, 643), Av. *nyāncō daēvayāzō* is rendered *nyh'nyt ŠDYyck'n* (var. DPS: *nyh'nynt*; others *nyhynyt*), with a gloss *kū nizār kunānd* "let them make (them) weak".

In spite of this gloss (which seems to indicate that the commentators may have taken *nyh'nyt* in *Phl.Vend.* 19.46 as a 2 pl. imper.), in the present context an interpretation as a 3 sg. ind. pres. of a causative, "it (i.e. this utterance) makes disappear", seems to make better sense. The correct reading of the verb may then be **nihānēnēd* (so Dhabhar, *ZXA*, 109), from a causative denominative verb **nihānēnidan*. On such verbs see Henning, *ZII* IX, 1933-4, 214-5.

7.¹ On the etymology of *haurva-* see J. Gonda, *ActOr* 15, 1937, 326; on the juxtaposition of *š* and *h* (from earlier **š*) see Hoffmann, *HdbOr* 1.4.1, 17.

7.² Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 940) leaves *pairi. barāmaide* untranslated; Wolff (*Av*, 223, n. 6), followed by Lommel (*Yts*, 90) and Gonda (loc. cit.), suggests "wir umkreisen".

7.³ So Kanga, *PhlVers*, 37, and Dhabhar, *TrslZXA*, 203. On this gloss cf. also *DkM.*, 726.13-4: *abar sōn ud cār i-š pad abāz dāštan i duz ud gurg az gōspandān* "About the manner and means which it (i.e. the shepherd's dog) has in keeping away the thief and the wolf from the sheep."

7.⁴ The translation "we observe the worship of" is conjectural. The ordinary meaning of *bē barēm*, "we take away", or possibly "we support" (cf. Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 67), does not appear to fit the context. It seems possible that *bē barēm* is to be understood merely as an attempt to give a literal rendering of Av. *pairi. barāmaide*. A noun *srōš-barišnih* is found, however, in the *Nirangestān* (ed. Sanjana, 55v.12; trsl. Bulsara, 120 with n. 6), together with such terms as *wāj-girišn* "taking the *bāj*" and *srōš-drōn* (on which see below, Ch. IV, p. 154). This context suggests that the term *srōš-barišnih* may also refer to part of the ritual, and that the verb (*Srōš*) *burdan* may thus have some specific meaning.

14.¹ On *urvairi-* "treaty" see H.-P. Schmidt, *Vrata*, 137-8.

14.² The passage from *avāin* to *ahmāi* also occurs in *Y.* 57.23, q.v.

14.³ Dhabhar (*ZXA*, 109) puts only the word *dāmān* in brackets, thus suggesting that the original rendering of Av. *āxštišca* was *pad āštiḥ abāg* "together with peace", or that Av. *āxštišca urvaitišca* was rendered as *pad āštiḥ abāg dōstih* "in peace together with friendship". It seems more plausible, however, to assume that *abāg* is part of a gloss "with the creations", qualifying *āštiḥ* "peace".

14.⁴ On *pāsbānēnišn pāsbānēnēd* as a rendering of Av. *spasyō spāništahe* see Darmesteter, *ZAv* II, 486, n. 28; Kanga, *PhlVers*, 43, n. 4; Schmidt, op. cit., 137, n. 68; Dhabhar, *TrslZXA*, 203, n. 1.

14.⁵ Dhabhar: *kē pad dēn*. So only MSS. U₁, D. Other MSS. omit.

14.⁶ Dhabhar reads *cygwnš* 'L dyn' nmwt 'whrmzd.¹ As *ō* cannot be a postposition (cf. Boyce, *UnvalaMemVol*, 51; Brunner, *SyntWMIr*, 116 ff.), one might either take **š* to anticipate *Ohrmazd* (cf. below, v. 15: *kē-š dād Ohrmazd*, "whom O. created"), which would force one to assume that **ō* here marks the direct rather than the indirect object (which, with *nimūdan*, would be unusual; on these functions of *ō* see Brunner, op. cit., 139), or to regard 'L as a misreading of **w'f'n*' (so MSS. A, U₂), which was originally part of a form **cygwnš'n*, and read *ciyōn-*išān dēn nimūd Ohrmazd*, "as O. revealed the religion to them".

15.¹ Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 311; 1352 s.v. *van-*, with n. 15), followed by Schmidt (*Vrata*, 137 n. 67) regards *hqm. vaintim* (with haplography for **hqm. vanaintim*) as an adjective qualifying *āxštīm* ("den siegreichen Frieden"). Geldner, *Studien*, 119), Darmesteter (*ZAv* II, 486 with n. 32) and Lommel (*Yts*, 91) take *āxšti-* and *hqm. vainti-* as nouns joined asyndetically. Kellens (*Noms-rac*, 43-7) has put forward further arguments to support the latter view.

15.² So Geldner (loc. cit.), on the basis of Skt. *samvanana*, followed by Lommel (loc. cit. with n. 2). Kellens (loc. cit.) translates "victory".

15.³ In his *Studien* (pp. 119-20), Geldner suggested that *paratasca astarata amuyamna hamaēstāra*, which is found in a number of MSS., was the original reading; he gave up this view in his edition of the Avesta. Against this see also Darmesteter (loc. cit.). For a detailed discussion of the *variae lectiones* see Kellens, op. cit., 47-8. On *parat-* "strife" and *mr(a)vayāšca* as a gen. sg. of *mravā-* "violence", as opposed to Bartholomae's *mrvi-* "discord" (*AirWb*, 1197), see Kellens, loc. cit.

15.⁴ Haug-West (*AWN*, 185 with n. 1) translated **nkyl'y* as "embezzler, defrauder". Against this see Bartholomae ("Zum sasanidischen Recht II", *SbHeidAk* 1918, 37-41), who reads **viyirāy* and translates "denying, repudiating" ("ableugnend"). For the reading adopted here see MacKenzie, *Dict*, 57. On *wad-xwāh* and **nakkirā* see further Dhabhar, *TrslZXA*, 204, n. 15.

16.¹ *razišta-*, lit. "the straightest, the most just" (see *AirWb*, 1515), as an epithet of Rašnu, is here translated "the very just", cf. Lommel's "ganz genau abwegend" (*Yts*, 91). As an epithet of Cistā, the *Yazata* of the way (cf. Benveniste, *Vjtra*, 56-64; Boyce, *Hist* I, 62 with n. 263), it is translated "the very straight".

16.² On the epithet *vouru. gaoyaoiti-* see Bailey, *TPS* 1954, 138; Gershevitch, *AHM*, 43; 151-2; Thieme, *BSOAS* XXIII, 1960, 273-4.

16.³ On Arštāt "Justice" see with references Gershevitch, op. cit. 286-7, and above, *Y.* 57, n. 33.³

16.⁴ For the reading *razistag* [*lžstk*] (so MSS. U₃, E), see Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 1515 s.v. *razišta-*, and Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 104 s.v. *rāst*. Most other MSS. have **rāstag* [*l'stk*], which also renders *razištəm* in *Visp.* 7.2 (but see Dhabhar, loc. cit.).

16.⁵ The reading *sūd-dāštār i gēhān* "who holds benefit for the world", only occurs in MS. U₃; the other MSS. have *sūd-gēhān*, which appears to be a word-for-word rendering of Av. *savō. gaēθayā*, and does not conform to the rules

¹ In his *TrslZXA* (p. 203), however, Dhabhar translates "who, with peace and friendship with the creation of Ohrmazd..."; the name of Ahura Mazdā does not occur either in the *Phl.* MSS. Dhabhar collated for his *ZXA*, or in the Av. original.

- governing the construction of Phl. compound adjectives. It could, however, be read as an *edāfa*-construction: *sūd ī gēhān* "the benefit of the world". In *Visp.* 7.2, *saṽō.gāēθqm* is rendered *sūdēnidār ī gēhān*.
- 16.⁶ A majority of MSS. (MR, A, U_{2,3}) have *frazānag ī wehīh* "the wise one of goodness", which is improbable. U and D have *frazānagīh ī weh* "good wisdom".
- 16.⁷ In all MSS. except U, Av. *cistayā* is rendered with the adjective *frazānag* "wise".
- 17.¹ On *vidaēva*- "rejecting the demons" see Benveniste, "Que signifie *Vidēvdāt*", *HenningMemVol*, 37-42. For an illustration of the use of Av. *vi* see Y.12.4.
- 17.² On the meaning of Av. *saošyant*- in this context cf. Molé, *Culte*, 133; Boyce, *Hist* I, 235.
- 17.³ On Phl. *darg* "long" with *abar-rawišnih* "tradition" see Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 693 s.v. *darga*-; Dhabhar, op. cit., 193.
- 17.⁴ Dhabhar gives the plural form *harwispin* which, in view of the sg. *sti*, is unlikely.
- 18.¹ *paōirya*- "first", does not appear to fit in with the rest of the sequence "last, middle and foremost". It does not occur in G.1.6, where the *Airyāmā išyō* prayer is described as *yō upāmō yō maḍāmō yō fratāmō zaozizuyē* "the last, the middle and the foremost to be invoked".
- 18.² On *fratama*- as an expression for "first, foremost" see Bartholomae, "Zu den arischen Wörtern für 'der erste' und 'der zweite'", *IF* 22, 1907-8, 95-116.
- 18.³ So Kotwal, *SupplŠnŠ*, 41, Ch. 13.2; 158, n. 637. On the *Nāwar*-ceremony see further Modi, *RCC*, 204-7.
- 18.⁴ For a comparison of these glosses with those of the *Hāwan Gāh* prayers (cf. n. 18.¹ above) see Dhabhar, *TrslZXA*, 207, n. 18.7.
- 18.⁵ Phl. *abardom*, lit. "highest", translates Av. *upāma*- "highest, last" (cf. *AirWb*, 399). As, in the present context, the word refers to the second in a series of rituals of increasing merit (cf. Darmesteter, *ZAv* II, 488, n. 40; Dhabhar, loc. cit.), and as the superlative ending **t/dom* occasionally has a comparative meaning (cf. Brunner, *SyntWMIr*, 39 and above, Y.57, n. 28.⁴), the word is here best translated as "higher".
- 18.⁶ Darmesteter (loc. cit.) remarks that it is impossible to infer from the present passage and the *ZWY* passage in which the words also occur (*ZWY*.VII.19, ed. BTA, 60-1, 122), whether the terms *Hādōxt* and *Ēk-Hōmāst* denote one single ritual or two separate ones.

Two *Nirangestān* passages, however, may help to elucidate this problem. *Nir.*, ed. Sanjana, 78v.13-14 (trsl. Bulsara, 178): 4 u-š 2 *abar Wisparad *wewl Ēk-Hōmāst ud Hādōxt ī Ēk-Hōmāst* "4 (fingerbreadths) besides that (least measure of) 2 (fingerbreadths)"² (in the *Vispered*,³ *Ēk-Hōmāst* (and) the *Hādōxt ī*

² so Bulsara, loc. cit.

³ Bulsara (op. cit., 178, n. 4; 436, n. 7) reads these letters as u-z ō [*Wc* 'L'] "and also in",—and *sraw-iz ō* [*slwbc* 'L'] "in the recitation in", respectively. The preposition *ō* [*L*], however, does not occur with any of the other names of rituals mentioned in this passage, and is usually written in a slightly different way.

The similarity between **wewl* and the last part of **slwbcwl* could lead one to suppose that these letters represent the same word, which might qualify the first *Ēk-Hōmāst* (as opposed to *Hādōxt ī Ēk-Hōmāst*), or possibly the preceding *Wisparad*. It would be tempting to interpret

Ēk-Hōmāst"; *Nir.*, ed. Sanjana, 168v.5-6 (trsl. Bulsara, 436): 33 *tāg Wisparad *slwbcwl Ēk-Hōmāst ud Hādōxt ī Ēk-Hōmāst* "33 twigs (are needed for) the Vispered. . . . **Ēk-Hōmāst* and *Hādōxt ī Ēk-Hōmāst*".

The fact that, in these passages, the terms *Ēk-Hōmāst* and *Hādōxt ī Ēk-Hōmāst* occur side by side suggests that, apart from the *Ēk-Hōmāst* (on which and on the *Dwāzdah-Hōmāst* see Darmesteter, *ZAv* I, LXVIII-IX; Modi, op. cit., 431-3) and a *Hādōxt* ceremony (on which see Kotwal, op. cit., 69, 71, Ch. 16.6; 148, n. 471), there was a ritual called *Hādōxt ī Ēk-Hōmāst* (cf. also Dhabhar, op. cit., 207, n. 18.4).

18.⁷ For references on the *Dwāzdah-Hōmāst* see above, n. 18.⁶.

21.¹ Here the MSS. have *frazānag ī weh* "the good wise one" as a translation of Av. *cistōiš varhuyā*, which, in view of v. 16, should probably be emended to **frazānagīh ī weh*.

Commentary on Yasna 56

1.¹ On the pseudo-Gathic language of this text (cf. the spelling *səraošō*) see below, nn. 1.²,³. On the possibly ancient origin of the phrase *səraošō*. . . . *astū* (cf. Ved. *astu*. . . . *śrausaṭ*) see Ch. V, pp. 164-5, 169.

Spiegel (*CommAv* II, 425) and Darmesteter (*ZAv* I, 355), translate the word *səraošō* as a common noun, qualified by *ahurahe mazdā*. The functions of the names of the other divinities (e.g. *apqm varuhinqm*, vv. 2, 3, 4) as qualifications of *yasnāi*, and the fact that *səraošō* has such epithets as *varhuš*, "the good" (v. 3; cf. Y.27.6; 57.29; Yt.17.16, where this word is used as an epithet of the divinity), and especially *ašivant*- "possessing rewards", an epithet belonging exclusively to Sraoša (cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 259; Gershevitch, *AHM*, 194, 325; Boyce, *Hist* I, 226, and below, p. 174 with n. 45)—indicate that the word is to be understood here as a proper noun, and that *ahurahe mazdā* qualifies *yasnāi*. In this *Hā*, the words *səraoša*- and *aši*- (cf. v. 3 with n. 3.²) appear to be used in such a way that the original meaning of the names is strongly called to mind (cf. also the Phl. rendering *niyōxšišn*). In the translation, the words are therefore rendered as "Hearkening" and "Reward" respectively.

1.² Note the anomalous spelling *idā* (cf. GAv. *idā* and YAv. *idā*).

1.³ The confusion in this *Hā* between *nā* (GAv. acc. pl., here used for *nē*), *nē* and *nō* (YAv. acc., dat., gen. pl., used in v. 2, where one would have expected GAv. *nē*), indicates that the language of this passage is an imitation of Gathic; see Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 1033 s.v. *na*-, n. 8; XXII with n. 1; Reichelt, *AwEl*, 291-2; Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* I, 73.

1.⁴ The spelling *XN'* (= *ēd*) is clearly a mistake for **ē* (*y*).

1.⁵ This gloss seems to suggest that the commentators took *niyōxšišn* to refer to Ohrmazd's hearkening to the act of worship, but see above, Y.57, n. 3.⁸.

1.⁶ On the Phl. rendering *sūd-xwāstār*, probably resulting from an interpretation of Av. *səvišta*- as **sav-išta*- (from **aēš*- "to seek"), see *AirWb*, 1577 n. 2. Av. *ištō*

these letters as defective spellings of **wuzurg* [*wewrg*] and **sraw wuzurg* [*slwbc wewrg*] respectively, but the consistent omission of the last *g* and, to a lesser extent, the fact that the *Nir.* MS. T 58 (ed. JamaspAsa-Nawabi, 259, 1.3) clearly has *sraw-iz* [*slwbc*], with NP. translation *soxan* "word", argue against this. (Note, however, that the rest of the passage is manifestly corrupt in T 58.)

- (p. part. of *yaz-* "to worship"), was apparently also derived by the commentators from *'aēš-* (cf. *AirWb*, 1278 n. 8). For the translation of *sūd-xwāstār*, cf. Bailey, "Iranian Studies III", *BSOS* VII, 1933-5, 284-6.
- 1.⁷ Phl. *xwāstār* apparently renders Av. *ištō* (cf. previous note).
- 1.⁸ For Phl. *andar estādan* "to begin", cf. NP. *dar istādan* "to begin, attack" (Steingass, *Dict*, 507); see also Mills, *JRAS* 1905, 452.
- 1.⁹ Phl. *sar kardan* evidently means "to complete", a meaning also attested in NP. (cf. *Loghatnāma*, S, 469: *be etmām rasānidan*) where the expression normally has the opposite meaning "to begin, to start" (cf. *Loghatnāma*, *ibid.*).
- 1.¹⁰ In the second sentence, the preposition *ō* (which occurs, however, in the otherwise identical Phl. Y.15.3), is omitted. Similarly, v. 3 has *ō yazišn* in the first sentence, but *yazišn* in the second; in v. 4, which is otherwise a repetition of v. 3, the preposition is omitted altogether. Where the preposition is omitted it is perhaps best to attribute dative function to the word *yazišn*.
- 2.¹ The prominent place accorded in this *Hā*—whose language is an imitation of the dialect in which the *Gāthās* and the *Yasna Haptanḥāiti* (YH.) were composed—to the Waters, seems to suggest that it may have been partly inspired by the YH., which is probably a Zoroastrian reworking of an older liturgy to accompany the offerings to the Fire and the Waters (cf. Boyce, *Hist* I, 160, 264).
Of the other Entities worshipped in this *Hā*, the terms *amāša spānta* and *fravaši* are first encountered in the YH. (cf. Boyce, *op. cit.*, 264, 118). Moreover, in this *Hā*, a distinction is made between the terms *fravaši-* and *urvan-* which is no longer apparent in the later tradition and in the late Avestan texts (on the use of the terms in Yt.13 see Boyce, *op. cit.*, 119), but which is found in the YH. (cf. Boyce, *ibid.*). In both texts, the distinction is made between "our souls" (cf. Y.39.1: *ahmākāng...urunō*) and "the *fravašis* of the righteous" (cf. Y.37.3: *ašāunqm fravašiš*). Good Aši is also invoked in the YH. (Y.38.2), together with a group of divinities (cf. Boyce, *op. cit.*, 58 with n. 235), but her place in the present *Hā* could also be explained as deriving from her association with Sraoša in the *Gāthās* (Y.43.12, cf. above, Ch. I, pp. 8, 19 ff.).
As minor indications of a link between Y.56 and the *Yasna Haptanḥāiti*, one might perhaps cite the adjective *ašanhak-*, which only occurs in Y.56.3,4 and in Y.41.3 (on this word see below, n. 3.⁴), and the superficial likeness between Y.39.3 (*āi iθā yazamaidē vanhūscā īt vanuhišcā īt spāntāng amāšāng*) and Y.56.3 (*yasnāi vanhuš vanuhinqm amāšanqm spāntanqm*), which were apparently connected in the minds of the commentators (see below, n. 3.⁶).
- 2.² The use of the dative instead of the genitive to indicate the object of worship is unusual. With the possible exception of Y.53.2: *aicā hōi scantū...xšnūm...yasnaqscā* "und sie sollen sich...um seine Zufriedenstellung bemühen... und um seine Verehrung" (*AirWb*, 559 s.v. ²*xšnāv-*), where *hōi* may refer to both *xšnūm* and *yasnaqscā*, no other instances occur (cf. *AirWb*, 1270-3). In view, however, of the parallels in the other stanzas, it seems justifiable to assume that *fravašibyo* here refers to *yasnāi* rather than to *sraošō*. The fact that the authors of this text were imitating Gathic Avestan may have contributed to their apparent confusion over cases.
- 2.³ On the YAv. form *nō*, see above, n. 1.³.
- 2.⁴ On *fravaši-* and *urvan-* see Lommel, *RelZar*, 170, and above, n. 2.¹.
- 2.⁵ The MSS. have *niyōxšišn ēdar nekīh*. The word *nekīh* here is due, in all probability, to a copyist's error.

- 3.¹ Wolff (*Av*, 74) and Lommel (*RelZar*, 81) take the second *vanuhinqm* to be a repetition of the first, qualifying *apqm*. The reason for this is, evidently, the position of *°cā*—which is normally suffixed to the first word of the group which it connects (cf. *AirWb*, 563)—after *amāšanqm*. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule (cf. Bartholomae, *ibid.*). If, as was argued above (n. 2.¹), the composition of the present *Hā* was influenced by the *Yasna Haptanḥāiti*, the parallel with Y.39.3 *āi iθā yazamaidē vanhūscā īt vanuhišcā īt spāntāng amāšāng yavaējyō yavaēsvō yōi vanhūš ā.mananḥō šyeinti yāscā ūlti* "So verehren wir denn die guten (Götter) und guten (Göttinnen), die immer lebenden, immer gedeihenden Spānta Amāša's, (die männlichen), die zum guten Sinn halten, und (die weiblichen), die es ebenso (tun)" (Wolff, *Av*, 69; cf. Boyce, *op. cit.*, 264), with its emphasis on the male and female nature of the Amāša Spāntas, suggests that, in spite of the grammatical objections, the second *vanuhinqm*, together with *vehunqmā*, may be a qualification of *amāšanqm spāntanqm*.
- 3.² *Ašiš vanuhi* "the good Reward", is here worshipped as a *Yazata* (*yasnāi*), but the words are qualified by the clause "that has been granted to us and that will be granted to us" (see below, n. 3.³), which refers to the noun "reward" rather than to the divinity (cf. n. 1.¹).
- 3.³ On the medio-passive perfect *ārōi, āraē*, see Renou, *La valeur du Parfait dans les Hymnes Védiques*, Paris 1925, 175. For a different interpretation of the forms *ārācā arnavataēcā* ("who has protected us and protects us"), see Humbach, *MSS* 9, 1956, 69; Kellens, *Noms-rac*, 297.
- 3.⁴ Against Bartholomae's dual interpretation of Av. *ašanhak-* (*AirWb*, 240-1) as "von Aša begleitet" in Y.41.3, and as "der Gerechtigkeit, Rechtschaffenheit zu Teil werdend, zufallend" in the present passage, see Kellens, *op. cit.*, 297-8. As Kellens has shown, it is hardly possible to determine whether *ašanhak-* is to be understood as an active compound "who accompanies Aša", or as a passive one "who is accompanied by Aša"; his translation "compagne d'Aša" therefore seems apt.
- 3.⁵ On *ašivant-* "possessing rewards", cf. above, n. 1.¹.
- 3.⁶ The Phl. rendering of this passage, which translates Av. *vanhuš* as a masculine plural "the good male beings" (*weh nar*), and the second *vanuhinqm* as an independent feminine plural, "the good female beings" (*weh mādag*), suggests that the commentators connected this passage with Y.39.3 (for the Av. text, see n. 3.¹; cf. Phl. Y.39.3: *hān ēdōn yazēm weh nar ud hān ī weh mādag hān Amahraspandān kē abzōnig hēnd*). Since the clause *kē weh nar ud kē weh mādag hēnd* cannot have for its antecedent "the good Waters" (who are said to be exclusively female, cf. *GBd.XVa.1*, ed. BTA, 142-3; Boyce, *op. cit.*, 71, n. 323), it must either refer to independent "good beings", or to the Amahraspandān. Both the similarity with the YH. passage alluded to above, where *weh nar* and *weh mādag* clearly refer to the Amahraspandān, and the Avestan original, where there is no question of independent "good beings", suggest the latter.
- 3.⁷ The translation of Av. *vanhuyāscā ašōiš yasnāi* deviates from the meaning of the original: *ašōiš* was rendered as *tarsagāhīh* "reverence"—the standard translation of the noun *aši-* (cf. *AirWb*, 243; Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 94)—showing that the commentators understood the word to denote the noun rather than the name of the divinity. Consequently, since *aši-/tarsagāhīh* could hardly be object of worship, *ašōiš* was translated as an attributive adjunct of manner: "a worship with good reverence".

CHAPTER THREE

SRÖŠ IN THE PAHLAVI TEXTS

In view of the nature of the material contained in the Pahlavi books—much of which is based on oral traditions which cannot be dated—historical developments in the character and functions of a divinity cannot be traced by examining these books by themselves. Any conclusions regarding historical developments must be based on a comparison and interpretation of all available data, and will be left to the concluding chapter.

In the present chapter, the material is therefore arranged according to topic, in the following order: 1) Srōš as leader of the material world – 2) as lord of Arzah and Sawah – 3) as lord of other regions – 4) his links with temporal authority – 5) as lieutenant and helper of Ohrmazd – 6) his position *vis-à-vis* the Amahraspandān – 7) his links with the Sacred Word – 8) as protector and guardian by night – 9) his *gāh*, the Ušahin – 10) his links with the cock – 11) his links with fire and with Urdwahišt – 12) his links with priestly authority; the use of the word *dastwar* in relation to him – 13) as defender of the Faith – 14) as the embodiment of the proper religious attitude – 15) the role he plays in human mental processes – 16) as a mediator between the material and the spiritual world – 17) his task of awakening heroes at the end of the millennia – 18) his bringing a ewe to Zarathustra – 19) his functions during the first three days after death – 20) his role as a ‘Judge of the Bridge’ – 21) his links with the dog – 22) his association with Mihr and Rašn – 23) his role in the events leading up to the Renovation (*Frašegird*).

1. One of the most striking functions attributed to Srōš in the Pahlavi sources, is that of ‘Lord and protector of the material world’:

Phl.SrW.0, *Srōšahlāy ī tagīg ī tan-framān [kē tan pad framān ī*
Dhabhar, ZXA, 6. *Ohrmazd dārēd] ī škeft-zēn [zēn-abzār] ī sālār [ī dāmān ī*
Ohrmazd] bē rasād.

“May it reach righteous Srōš, the vigorous, who has the command for body [who keeps his body at the command of Ohrmazd], with a hard weapon [equipment of arms],¹ the leader [of the creations of Ohrmazd].”

In this passage, Av. *āhūrya-* “ahurian”, is rendered by *Phl. sālār [ī dāmān ī Ohrmazd]* “leader [of the creations of Ohrmazd]”, whereas *Phl.Y.57.1* has

¹ Cf. *Phl.Y.57.1*: *kū-š zēn-abzār škaft* “i.e. his equipment of arms is hard”.

xwadāy [pad Arzah ud Sawah] “lord [in Arzah and Sawah]” (on which see below).

Srōš’s leadership of the material world is further discussed in the following passages:

GBd.XXVI.46-48, *Srōš gētīg pad pānagih-kardārih az Ohrmazd dārēd;*
BTA, 218-221 *ēdōn ciyōn Ohrmazd pad mēnōg ud gētīg sālār, Srōš*
*pad gētīg sālār; ciyōn gōwēd: Ohrmazd (*pad)² mēnōg*
ruwān-pānag ud Srōš pad gētīg tan-pānag.

“Srōš has the material world for protection on behalf of Ohrmazd; even as Ohrmazd is the leader in the spiritual and the material world, Srōš is the leader in the material world. As He says: Ohrmazd is the protector of the soul (in)² the spiritual world and Srōš is the protector of the body in the material world.”

RivDD.LVI.3, *ud abāriḡ abāḡ Ohrmazd yazišn bē az Srōš, cē Srōš .*
Dhabhar, 166. *xwadāy ud dahibed ī gēhān ast; ēd rāy judāḡihā abāyēd*
yaštan.

“And the others (i.e. the *Yazads*) are to be worshipped together with Ohrmazd, except Srōš, for Srōš is the lord and ruler of the world; therefore one should worship him separately.”

DD.XXVII.6, *az hān ciyōn pāsbānīh ud pānagih ī gētīgān az dādār-*
TDA, 56. *framān Srōšahlāy xwēškārih ud āmārgar-iz pad stōš*
ēk Srōšahlāy, hān ruwān 3 rōz ud šab ī mēnōg-waxših
gāh andar gētīg pānagihēd pad hān ī Srōš pādārih ud
āmārihēd pad hān ī Srōš āmārih. pad-iz hān cim 3 rōz
ud šab yazišn ī Srōš kardan paydāḡ cim.

“Because of the fact that, at the command of the Creator, the defence and protection of the inhabitants of the material world is the proper function of righteous Srōš and because righteous Srōš is also one of those who make up the account on the fourth morning after death, that soul is protected during the three days and nights—the time of being a spiritual spirit in the material world—by the protection of Srōš. And its account is made up by the accounting of Srōš. And therefore the reason for worshipping Srōš for three days and nights is obvious.”

2. As in *Phl.Y.57.1*, Srōš is called ‘Lord of Arzah and Sawah’ in the following passages:

GBd.XXVI.55, *u-š xwadāyih ēd kū pad Arzah ud Sawah framādār.*
BTA, 220.

“and his lordship is this that he is commander in Arzah and Sawah.”

² MSS. omit *pad*, but compare the parallel phrase *Srōš pad gētīg tan-pānag*. Alternatively, it could be argued that, since Ohrmazd can be said to be a ‘spiritual protector of the soul’, but Srōš is not a ‘material protector’, the former phrase does not need *pad*, whereas the latter does.

AyJam.V.2,
Messina, 47-48.

*guft-iš Jāmāsp kū pad Arzah ud Sawah mardōm zamestān
Srōš rāy yazišn. pad hān pādāšn Srōš abar awēšān
xwadāyih frēstēd. u-šān dād weh ud dēn pōtyōtkēš u-šān
zindagih was. was ast az-išān kē se sad sāl bē ziwēnd.
u-šān kār ud bār nēkih. az murw ud mähig was pad kām.
u-šān xwadāy ud sālār Srōš ud ka mirēnd ahlaw hēnd.*

"Jāmāsp told him: the people of Arzah and Sawah (perform)³ worship for Srōš in winter. As a reward for that, Srōš sends his lordship over them. Their law is good, their religion is that of the first Teachers, and their life is long. There are many of them who live for three hundred years. Their business is goodness. There are many birds and fish at their disposal. Their lord and leader is Srōš and when they die, they are blessed.⁴"

Arzah is said to be Srōš's chief dwelling place:

MX.LXII.25,
Sanjana, 86.

*māništ ī Srōš frahist pad Arzah ud pas pad-iz Sawah ud
hamāg gēhān.*

"The dwelling of Srōš is chiefly in Arzah, and then also in Sawah and in the whole world."

The two contrasting interpretations of Srōš's lordship—the one limiting his rule to two mythical continents, the other extending it over the whole material world—probably represent two traditions which existed side by side. The former may stem from Sraoša's association with Mithra and Rašnu, in whose *Yašts* a list of the continents, headed by *Arəzahī* and *Savahī*, repeatedly occurs;⁵ it has no obvious connections with other functions attributed to Srōš, and does not appear to have played a prominent part in the religious life of the community. Srōš's leadership of this world as second-in-command to Ohrmazd, on the other hand, was clearly a living reality of the faith: it is reflected by his position in the ritual⁶ and is closely connected with his other functions, such as the protection of the world and his role as a mediator between the material and the spiritual world (on which see below, pp. 129-30).

³ The grammar of this passage appears to be corrupt. As *rāy* does not normally mark the direct object in Pahlavi, it seems that *yazišn* must be a noun, and a finite verb such as **kunēnd* is to be added. Alternatively, one might assume NP. influence, and take *Srōš rāy* as direct object of *yazišn*: "the people ... have to worship Srōš".

⁴ On the use of the word *ahlaw* for the dead, see Bailey, *ZorProb.* 87, n. 4. For a survey of the subsequent literature on the subject, see Gh. Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland*, Naples 1980, 75 n. 102 with Addendum p. 238.

⁵ *Yt.* 10.15,33; *Yt.* 12.9-15; Cf. also *Yt.* 10.67.

⁶ Cf. the *RivDD.* passage above (p. 109), and Ch. IV, *passim*.

3. Lordship over two other regions, viz. the land on and beyond the Harburz, and *Ērān-wēz*,⁷ is also attributed to Srōš:

AyJam.VI.1-3,
Mess., 48.

*pursīd Wištāsp šāh kū: awēšān mardōmān kē pad Harburz
ud hān-iz ī pad Harburz ō hān kust mānēnd, awēšān dād
ud rawišn cē ud ziwīšn cē ud ciyōn? Guft-iš Jāmāsp
bidaxš kū: awēšān mardōmān ī awēšān gyāg rawišn xwaš
ud harw nēkih ast u-šān zindagih was; xwadāy-hayyār,
weh-dēn, ruwān-dōst ud dēn-dōst hēnd. u-šān xwadāy
ud dahibed Srōš u-šān petyārag kem; ka mirēnd ahlaw
hēnd.*

"King Wištāsp asked: those people who dwell on Harburz, and also those on the other side of Harburz, what are their laws and customs, and what and how is their life? The viceroy Jāmāsp told him: those people of those places have pleasant customs and every good quality, their life is long, they are helpers of their lord, (they are) of the good religion and have consideration for their souls and for the religion.⁸ Their lord and ruler is Srōš, their misfortunes are fewer, and when they die, they are blessed."

MX.XLIV.24-35,
Sanj., 65-6.

*paydāg kū Ohrmazd Ērān-wēz az abārigān gyāgān ud
rōstāgān weh dād. u-š wehīh ēn kū mardōmān zindagih
300 sāl. ud gāwān ud gōspandān 150 sāl. u-šān dard
ud wēmārīh kem. ud drō nē drōzēnd. ud šewan ud mōyag
nē kunēnd. ud Āz-dēw pad tan ī awēšān pādixšāyih kem.
ud pad 10 mard nān-ē xwarēnd ud sagr hēnd. ud pad harw
40 sāl az zan-ē ud mard-ē frazand-ē āyēd. u-šān dād
wehīh ud dēn pōtyōtkēših. ud ka mirēnd ahlaw hēnd.
u-šān rad Gōbēd ud xwadāy ud pādixšāy Srōš.*

"It is revealed that Ohrmazd created *Ērān-wēz* better than the other places and districts. Its goodness is this that the life of the people (lasts) 300 years. And (that of) oxen and sheep 150 years. They have less pain and illness. They do not tell lies. They do not lament and wail. The demon Āz (Greed) has less power over their bodies. They eat one loaf of bread between ten men and are satisfied. In forty years one child is born of one woman and one man. Their law is goodness and their religion is the primal doctrine. When they die they are blessed. Their *Rad* is Gōbēd and their lord and king is Srōš."

⁷ On the impossibility to tell whether the names Harburz and *Ērān-wēz* refer to mythical or to actual localities, see Boyce, *Hist* I, 143-5. Cf. also Messina, op. cit., 98 n. 3.

⁸ Lit.: "(are) friends to their souls and friends to the religion".

In his *Idéologie tripartite* (p. 70), Dumézil suggests that, in the latter passage, Srōš replaces an older protector-god of the Aryans. Both passages, however, are eulogies on the religious virtues and ideal lives of the people concerned. As Srōš is the upholder of religious authority (cf. below, p. 123), the expression "their lord. . . . is Srōš" can be taken to indicate simply that, in those countries, religious authority rules supreme.

4. That Srōš also has connections with temporal authority is shown by the following passage from the *Srōš-šnāyēnidārih*:

SrŠn, Dhabbar, *pad hamāg gēhān winnārišn ī xwadāyih pad warz ud xwarrah ud ōz ud nērōg ī tō Srōšahlāy kē tan ud ruwān ī mardōm pānag hē.*
ZXA, 244.

"In the whole world, the establishment of lordship (is) through your miraculous power, fortune, force and strength, righteous Srōš, (you) who are the protector of the bodies and souls of men."

A special link is perceived between Srōš, the spiritual ruler of the world, and the actual ruler of Ērān, in a passage where the latter's military and religious authority is said to derive from Srōš:

DkM., 585.14 ff. *awēšān kē Srōšahlāy⁹ ī gētīg hēnd—kē pad framān ī Ohrmazd rawēnd—pad Ērān-šahr xwadāy hēnd. pad framān ī Ohrmazd hān estēd [bawēd] kē pad dastwarih ud āgāhih ī pad mānsarspand menēd, gōwēd ud kunēd. Srōšahlāy rāy az gyāg-ē paydāg kū-š gētīg ēn *hambāriš-nih¹⁰ ī kārān ud hān pahikārišnih ī xrad ī sūdmandān, ēn pad xwadāyān šāyēd cē hērbēdān ud *artēštārān¹¹ kārezār ī abāg Anērān ud abārig-iz warzišn ī meh jud az xwadāyān nē bawēd. ēd rāy xwadāy ī nēk Srōšahlāy ī gētīg ast u-š framān-burdār Srōšahlāy framān-kardār bawēd.*

"Those who are the material righteous Srōš(es)—those who behave according to the command of Ohrmazd—are the rulers in the land of Ērān. (The one who) keeps [obeys]¹² the command of Ohrmazd (is) he who thinks, speaks and acts with authority and awareness through the Sacred Word. Of righ-

⁹ MS.: 'slwš 'hl'y.

¹⁰ MS.: hmbšnyh.

¹¹ MS.: hw'tst'n; for this emendation see Molé, *Culte*, 213.

¹² This is an approximate rendering of the gloss *bawēd*, lit. "will be", to *estēd*, lit. "will stand".

teous Srōš, it is revealed in a place that his concern¹³ (in) the material world is this collecting of armies and that disputing about wisdom of the beneficial ones. This is possible because of the rulers, for priests and warriors cannot do battle with Anērān or even carry out other major activities without rulers. Therefore the good ruler is the material righteous Srōš, and he who obeys him carries out the command of righteous Srōš."

5. Srōš's role as a lieutenant to Ohrmazd may help to explain the fact that King Wištāsp, the worldly ruler who was, in a sense, a second-in-command to Zarathustra, is often associated with him in the Pahlavi *Yasna* and *Vispered*.¹⁴ Another factor which may have contributed to this association is the fact that, in *Yt*.13.99,¹⁵ Vištāspa is given epithets which belong characteristically to Sraoša.¹⁶ Srōš's role as a helper of Ohrmazd is further illustrated by the following passages:

DD. XXVIII.1-2, *28-om pursišn hān ī pursid kū yazišn ī Srōš any šnūman*
TDA, 56-7. *ī did abāg kardan nē pādixšāy cē cim rāy *kū-š¹⁷ judāgihā yazēnd. Passox ēd kū wispān-xwadāy dādār kē xwābar abar xwēš dām ud grāmīgār ī xwēš rāst-bandagih ī-š dād *ō¹⁸ Srōšahlāy ud judāgihā yaštan *kū¹⁷ nē hān ī ōy nām wasihā gōwihēd nē-z hān ī Amahraspandān nām abāg ōy yaštan pad ēn cim.*

"The 28th question (is) that which was asked: why is it not allowed to perform the worship of Srōš with another, second dedication (*šnūman*); (i.e.) that¹⁷ they worship him separately? The answer (is) this that the Creator (is) the lord of all things, who (is) beneficent towards his own creation and holds dear the status of his own true servant, which he bestowed on righteous Srōš. And for this reason, (one must) worship him separately, so that¹⁷ his (Ohrmazd's) name is not frequently mentioned and (one must) not worship the names of the Amahraspandān together with him."

GBd.XXXIV.27 ff., *pas Ohrmazd Gannāg Mēnōg, Wahman Akōman, Urdwa-*
BTA, 290. *hišt Indar, Šahrewar Sāwul, Spandarmad Tarōmad ī ast *Nārhaiθya,¹⁹ Hordād ud Amurdād Tayrīz ud Zayrīz,*

¹³ Lit. "for him, there is".

¹⁴ *Phl*.Y.27.6; 43.16; *Phl*.Visp.13.1.

¹⁵ Cf. above, *Y*.57, n. 1.⁴

¹⁶ Since there is no further evidence of a close connection between Sraoša and Vištāspa in the Avesta, it seems unlikely that the identity of epithets was the result of an earlier association.

¹⁷ MSS.: 'MT. On *ka* for **kū*, cf. Brunner, *SyntWMIr*, 242.

¹⁸ MSS.: *L*.

¹⁹ MS. TD., 97r.12: defectively written in Avestan script: (N)ā(η)haiθi.

*Rāst-gōwišnih hān ī Drō gōwišnih,²⁰ Srōšahlāy Xēšm ī xur-drafs girēnd. pas 2 druz frāz mānēnd, Ahreman ud Āz. Ohrmazd ō gētīg āyēd xwad zōt, Srōšahlāy rāspīg ud ēbyānghan pad dast dārēd. Gannāg Mēnōg ud Āz pad hān ī gāhānīg nērang zad-abzārihā ud *ākārihā²¹ tar hān widarag ī asmān ī pad-iš andar dwārist abāz ō tom²² ud tar dwārēd.*

"Then Ohrmazd will seize the Evil Spirit; Wahman Akōman; Urdwahišt Indar; Šahrewar Sāwul; Spandarmad Tarōmad, who is Nānhaiōya; Hordād and Amurdād Tayrīz and Zayrīz; True Speech Deceitful Speech; righteous Šrōs Xēšm of bloody banner. Then two fiends will remain: Ahreman and Āz. Ohrmazd will come to the material world, himself as zōt, righteous Srōš as rāspīg, and he has a sacred girdle in his hand. Because of those Gathic incantations, the Evil Spirit and Āz, their weapons struck down and powerless,²³ will²⁴ rush back to the darkness and gloom, across that passage in the sky through which they²⁴ had rushed in."

GBd.XXVI.8,
BTA, 212.

xwad nišīnēd pad hān ī a-sar rōšnih ud pāyēd mēnōg ud gētīg dāmān. ō-z gētīg ōwōn nazdik ciyōn pad mēnōg. u-š Wahman, Urdwahišt ud Šahrewar az dašn; Spandarmad, Hordād ud Amurdād az hōy, Srōš pēš estēd.

"He (i.e. Ohrmazd) himself dwells in the Endless Light and guards the spiritual and the material creations; and he is as close to the material as to the spiritual world. To his right stand Wahman, Urdwahišt and Šahrewar, to his left Spandarmad, Hordād and Amurdād; Srōš stands in front of him."

6. The last two passages also illustrate Srōš's position *vis-à-vis* the Amahraspandān: in GBd.XXVI.8, he is closely associated with them, yet apart; in GBd.XXXIV.27, the list of names of the Amahraspandān is followed immediately by those of True Speech and Srōš. A similar sequence occurs in two other Bundahišn passages:

GBd.I.53,
BTA, 18.

u-š Wahman az nēk-rawišnih ud gētīg rōšnih frāz brēhēnīd kē-š dēn ī weh ī māzdēsnañ abāg būd, ēn kū hān ī ō dām rasēd tā Frašegird, ā-š dānist. pas Urdwahišt, pas Šahrewar, pas Spandarmad, pas Hordād ud Amurdād brēhēnīd. 7-om xwad Ohrmazd, 8-om Rāst-gōwišn, 9-om Srōšahlāy, 10-om Mānsarspand, 11-om Nēryōsang.

²⁰ So ZA, loc. cit.; TD₁, 97r.13 has gwbšn'.

²¹ So ZA, loc. cit.; TD₁, 97r.16: 'yk'.

²² So ZA; TD₁, loc. cit., omits from the first tar up to ud tar.

²³ Lit. "ineffective".

²⁴ The text has singular verbs.

"And from good behaviour and material light, He (i.e. Ohrmazd) fashioned forth Wahman, with whom was the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, i.e. that which will happen to the Creation until the Renovation, he knew it. Then he fashioned Urdwahišt, then Šahrewar, then Spandarmad, then Hordād and Amurdād. The seventh was Ohrmazd himself, the eighth True Speech, the ninth righteous Srōš, the tenth the Sacred Word, the eleventh Nēryōsang."

GBd.V.1,
BTA, 54.

*ciyōn Ahreman ō Ohrmazd, Akōman ō Wahman, Indar ō Urdwahišt, Sāwul ō Šahrewar, *Nāyghā²⁵ ōy kē Tarōmad xwānēnd ō Spandarmad, *Tōriz²⁶ ō Hordād ud *Zāriz²⁶ ō Amurdād, Xēšm ō Srōš, Drō ī Mihōxt ō Rāstih, Sraw ī jādūgih ō Mānsar ī abēzag, Frehbūd ud Abebūd ō Paymān ī ast dēn ī weh.*

"such as Ahreman against Ohrmazd; Akōman against Wahman; Indar against Urdwahišt; Sāwul against Šahrewar; *Nāyghā, whom they call Tarōmad, against Spandarmad; *Tōriz against Hordād and *Zāriz against Amurdād; Xēšm against Srōš; the Lie Falsehood against Truth; the Spell of sorcery against the pure Sacred Word; Excess and Deficiency against Moderation, which is the good religion."

7. Srōš's connection with the Sacred Word²⁷ is referred to in a RivDD. passage:

RivDD.XLVI.20,
Dhabhar, 133-4.

saxwan ī nēk bē nigerēd ud abar estēd kū pad-iš šāyēd estād kū-š dāštār Srōš, kū pad dastwar šāyēd dāšt.

"Observe the Good Word, and take your stand on it, i.e. one can rely on it, for its keeper is Srōš, i.e. one can consider it authoritative."

8. That Srōš's powers of protection, exercised especially at night, are connected with the protective powers of the Sacred Word is suggested by a number of Avestan passages (notably Y.57.22). This association probably explains Srōš's association with Dahmān Āfrīn, the embodiment of Prayer, in his role as a nocturnal guardian:

SupplŠnŠ.XIII.43,
Kotwal, 52-3.

ud hān 4 gāh ēd rāy, cē paydāg caθruš hamaya xšapō dahmayāt parō āfrītōit; harw šab 4 bār Dahmān Āfrīn ud

²⁵ TD₁, 19r.16: n'yg's, cf. above, n. 19.

²⁶ TD₁, 19r.16-17: t'wlyc' and z'lyc; ZA, loc. cit.: Tāuri-ch, Zairi-ch. Cf. GBd.XXXIV.27 (q.v.); TD₁, 97r.12: t'ylyc, zylyc; ZA, 290: Tairi-ch, Zairi-ch. These names do not seem to have a fixed form in Pahlavi.

²⁷ Cf. the epithet tanu.mqθra- and further Y.57.8,22; Yt.11.1,3, et passim.

3 bār Srōš ud 2 bār Būšāsp ud ēk bār Xēšm ō axw ī astōmand bē rasēnd.

"And those four lines²⁸ (are) for this reason, because it is revealed: *caθruš hamayq xšapō dahmayāl parō āfrītōit*; every night, Dahmān Āfrin comes to the material world four times, and Srōš three times and Būšāsp twice and Xēšm once."

DkM., 815.3 ff.

21-om fragard Wahištōyišt; abar kū xwāhišnān ī pahlom dēn ī weh. ud abar *madan²⁹ *ō³⁰ *hamāg gēhān Xēšm harw šab ēk ud Būšāsp 2 jār pad wināhēnīdan ud kāhīdan. ud Srōšahlāy 3 ud Dahmān Āfrin 4 pad frādahišnih ud pad winnārišn-dahišnih. ud bōxtārdom az Yazdān Dahmān Āfrin.

"The 21st fragard, Wahištōyišt,³¹ on (the fact) that the best prayers³² (are?) the good religion. On the coming to the whole world: Xēšm (comes) once every night and Būšāsp twice, to destroy and diminish; righteous Srōš (comes) three times and Dahmān Āfrin four times to increase and arrange (it). The most redeeming of the *Yazads* is Dahmān Āfrin."

On Srōš's nightly protections of the world, see:

GBd.XXVI.49,
BTA, 220.

az hān kū-šān dāmān dād pānagih ī dāmān kardan rāy xwaš nē xuft ēstēd; harw šab ō harw mardōm 3 jār pad hamāg šab *āyōzēd³³ abāg māzanigān dēwān.

"From the time when they created the creations, he has not slept well in order to protect the creations; each night (he goes) to all people; three times every night he does battle with the monstrous demons.³⁴"

SrŠn., Dhabhar,
ZXA, 244.

ud harw rōz-ē ud šab-ē 7 bār pad haft-kišwar zamig abar harwisw axw ī astōmand bē rāsē.

²⁸ Viz. of each verse of the *Vahištōišti Gāthā* (Y.53).

²⁹ MS.: *min'*. West (*SBE* XXXVII, 219) and Boyce ("On Mithra's part in Zoroastrianism", *BSOAS* XXXII, 1969, 25) read *mihr* [mtr]. Kotwal's reading (*SupplŠnŠ*, 106 n. 68) *madan* is adopted here as yielding better sense. Moreover, if this reading is adopted, the passage provides a striking parallel to the preceding *SupplŠnŠ* passage.

³⁰ MS. has *Y*; better **L*.

³¹ The 21st fragard of the lost *Sūdgar Nask*. The fact that the preceding passage, referring to the *Vahištōišti Gāthā* (Y.53), and the present one, which refers to a fragard of the same name, both contain the same information is interesting.

³² Phl. *xwāhišnān ī pahlom* probably renders Av. *vahištā ītiš* (Y.53.1), cf. Phl.Y.53.1: *pahlom xwāhišnih ud sraw ī Zardušt*.

³³ TD₁, 71r.2: *ycyt*, but cf. Phl.Y.57.17.

³⁴ Cf. Y.57.17, where there is no mention of the 'three times', and Y.57.31, where Sraoša is said to move towards Xvanirāθa three times each day and night.

"And each day and night you come seven times to the earth which has seven continents, over the whole material existence."

Here, the 'seven times' may be influenced by the number of the continents; in all other places three times are mentioned.

9. Srōš's own period of the day (*gāh*), which he shares with Rašn, is the Ušahin-*gāh*, the time from midnight till daybreak (cf. Y. 1.7):

GBd.III.21-2,
BTA, 44.

u-š rōz-iz andar mähigān harw ēk pad 5 hangām baxt; harw hangām-ē mēnōg-ē pad-iš *gumārd.³⁵ *ciyōn bāmdād-gāh Hāwan Mēnōg, nēmrōz-gāh Rapihwin Mēnōg, ēbārag-gāh Uzērīn Mēnōg, *apādyābān Ēbsrūsrim Mēnōg, Ušahin-gāh Ušahin Mēnōg xwēših dārēnd. u-š awēšān-iz pad hamkārīh baxt hēnd, cē-š Hāwan ō Mihr, Rapihwin ō Urdwahišt, Uzērīn ō Burz-Yazd, Ēbsrūsrim ō ahlawān *Frawahrān³⁶ ud Warhrām, Ušahin ō Srōš ud Rašn pad hamkārīh winnārd.*

"And He divided the days in the months, too, each into five periods; and He appointed a Spiritual Being over each period: as the Spirit of Hāwan has the period of dawn for its own, the Spirit of Rapihwin has the time of noon, the Spirit of Uzērīn the evening time, the Spirit of Ēbsrūsrim the.....³⁷ the Spirit of Ušahin the period of Ušahin. And He has appointed these, too, for collaboration, for he assigned Hāwan as a collaborator to Mihr, Rapihwin to Urdwahišt, Uzērīn to Burz-Yazad, Ēbsrūsrim to the Frawašis of the righteous and to Warhrām, Ušahin to Srōš and Rašn."

According to a *Dēnkard*-passage, the first part of the Ušahin-*gāh*, the time just after midnight, belongs particularly to Srōš:

DkM., 793.8 ff.

ud abar gāh ī yazišn ī Srōšahlāy abērdar pad sazišn ī fradom nēmag ī šab ud ōy ī yaštār ō pāsbānih i-š az hān ī mēnōg druz niwēyēnidagih. ud gāh ī yazišn ī Rašn ud Aštād abērdar az hān pas pad Ušahin radih.

"And on the time for the worship of righteous Srōš: especially on the passing of the first half of the night; the worshipper (is to) announce his protection from the spiritual fiend. The time

³⁵ TD₁, 15v.10: *gwmlr*.

³⁶ TD₁, 15v.15, omits.

³⁷ **apādyābān*: BTA (p. 45) translates "ablution-time", cf. Kotwal, *SupplŠnŠ*, 124: *apādyāb* "ritually unclean". In the present context, such a meaning seems too speculative to be included in the translation.

for the worship of Rašn and Aštād is chiefly after that, during the *ratu*-ship of Ušahin."

10. In repelling the evil powers of the night, Srōš is assisted by his own bird, the cock:³⁸

GBd.XXIV.48, BTA., 202. *xrōs pad hamēstārih ī dēwān ud jādūgān dād estēd, abāg sag hamkār. ciyōn gōwēd pad dēn kū az gētīg dāmān hān pad druz-zadārih abāg Srōš *hamkār³⁹ hēnd, sag ud xrōs.*

"The cock is created to oppose the demons and sorcerers, as a collaborator of the dog. As He says in the Religion: among the material creatures, these are the collaborators of Srōš, the dog and the cock."

JFr.II.25, Haug/West, AWN, 215. *cē hān xrōs xwānēnd *murwag⁴⁰ ī Srōšahlāy ud ka wāng kunēd, ā-š petyārag az dām ī Ohrmazd abāz dārēd.*
"for that cock they call the bird of righteous Srōš. And when it crows, it keeps misfortune away from the creation of Ohrmazd."

11. While in the *Vendidad* (*Vend.*18.22-27), Srōš and the cock are said to come to the aid of the fire, in the *Drāyišn ī Ahreman ō Dēwān*, which describes the nightly battle between good and evil powers, fire plays a more active role:

DrAD.3, BTA, ZWY, 90. *pas Srōš dast ō xrōs-murw zanēd. ka xrōs-murw wāng kunēd bahr-ē Ātaxš ī Warhrām ud bahr-ē ātaxš ī xānag, ka pad nēm-šab bē abrōzēnd, bē zanēd; abārig Srōš hamāg bē zanēd.*

"Then Srōš claps his hands to the cock. When the cock crows, the Bahrām-fire smites one part and the house-fire, when they kindle it at midnight, (smites) one part; Srōš smites all the rest."

In the Pahlavi books the link between Srōš and Fire, both *hamkār*s ("collaborators") of Urdwahišt, is generally described in terms of help and protection: the fire is protected by Srōš and, on the other hand, shares his task of protecting mankind:

³⁸ Cf. *Phl.Vend.*18.15: *ēg hān murw wāng *barēd (bld) abar pad ōš ī abzār [ī pad nēm-šab ul āyēd]* "then that bird crows over the powerful dawn [which comes up at midnight]". The gloss links the cock, who crows at dawn, with the whole Ušahin-*gāh*, and thus with Srōš.

³⁹ So Z.A. TD₁, 65r.10: *hdyblyh*.

⁴⁰ MSS.: *mwhwk*. Haug/West, loc. cit., read *mūrūk*.

GBd.XVIII.16 ff., BTA, 160-2.

*nūn-iz ham-ēwēnag druz-zadārih ud pānagih ī mardōmān hamē kunēnd. ka bē *afsārēnd⁴¹ hān xwarrah abāz ō mēnōgān rasēd. Ātaxš ī Warhrām ēd rāy xwānēnd cē hamē⁴² ātaxš-ē pad gētīg drubuštīh az Warhrām ud pānagih az Srōš.*

"And now, too, they (viz. the Bahrām-fires) always smite the fiends and protect mankind in the same way. When they go out,⁴¹ that fortune (*xwarrah*) goes back to the Spiritual Beings. They call them Warhrām-fires because a fire in the material world is always defended by Warhrām and protected by Srōš."

Zādspr.III.83, BTA, 42.

*u-š abāg druz ī mēnōg *kōxšīdan⁴³ parīg-kirbag. ī az drayāb abar āyēnd ud tanīgardiḥ paymōxt dārēnd ud pad gand ud *āhōgēnišn⁴⁴ rōšnān *petyārēnd⁴⁵ ud pad jādūgih dāmān wināhēnd. ud zadan ud sōxtan ud parīg wānīdan ud mādagwariḥ pad šab xuftagān pās-bānēnīdan ud abāg Srōšahlāy hayyār būdan.*

"And its function⁴³ (i.e. that of the Fire of Supreme Benefit), is to struggle with the spiritual *Druz*, who have the form of witches. who rise up from the sea and have corporeality⁴⁶ for their garment,⁴⁷ and injure the lights with stench and defilement and harm the creatures through sorcery. And to smite and burn (them) and to overcome the witches and, particularly, to guard sleepers at night and to be a helper to righteous Srōš."

GBd.XXVI.41-4, BTA, 218.

Urdwahišt pad gētīg ātaxš xwēš, kē ātaxš rāmēnēd ayāb bēšēd ēg-iš Urdwahišt rāmēnīd ayāb bēšīd bawēd. u-š hamkār Ādur, Srōš ud Warhrām. Ādur andar gētīg mādagwar ēn 3 mēnōg: Farnbāg, Gušnāsp ud Burzēn-Mihr, pas abārigān ātaxšān ī pad dādīgān nišīnēnd, kē pad zadan ud abēsīhēnīdan ī druz ud pānagih ī dāmān dād ēstēd.

"In the material world, Urdwahišt has fire as his own; he who gives pleasure or pain to fire, by him Urdwahišt is pleased or

⁴¹ MSS.: *'pz'ind (afsārēnd)* "they extinguish" (trans.). Here, the intransitive **afsārēnd* "they go out, are extinguished" seems to fit the context better.

⁴² So Z.A. TD₁, 51v.9 omits the words from the first *ātaxš* up to the second.

⁴³ In the MSS. **kōxšīdan* and the other infinitives of this passage are written without the infinitive ending. For the translation, cf. BTA, op. cit., LXXXI.

⁴⁴ MSS.: *'hwynšn'*.

⁴⁵ TD: *pytyd'lynd*; rest: *pytyd'lynd*.

⁴⁶ On *tanīgardiḥ* see Bailey, *ZorProb*, 104-5 with n. 1.

⁴⁷ The use of *paymōxt*, normally a verbal form, as a noun meaning "garment" is unusual.

pained. And his collaborators are Ādur, Srōš and Warhrām. The principal fires in the material world are these three spiritual ones: Farnbāg, Gušnāsp and Burzēn-Mihr, then the other fires that dwell in fire-temples, which have been created to smite and destroy the fiends and for the protection of the creatures."

GBd.III.15,
BTA, 40.

*sidigar az mēnōgān Urdwahišt u-š az dahišn i gētīg ātaxš
ō xwēš *padirift⁴⁸ u-š dād ō hayyārih ud hamkārīh Ādur,
Srōš, Warhrām ud Nēryōsang; pad hān cim kū andar
ēbgatīh Warhrām ātaxš i andar mān nišast ud winnārd
drubuštīh *dahēd,⁴⁹ Srōš pānagih kunēd. ka bē azrawēd az
Warhrām ō Srōš, az Srōš ō Ādur, az Ādur abāz ō
Urdwahišt paywast kū dēwān bē murnjēnīdan nē tuwān
bawād.*

"The third of the Spiritual Beings is Urdwahišt, and from the material creation he received Fire for himself; and Ādur, Srōš, Warhrām and Nēryōsang were given to him for help and cooperation; for this reason that, at the onslaught of Evil, Warhrām defends the fire that is set and established in the house, and Srōš protects it. When it goes out, it goes⁵⁰ from Warhrām to Srōš, from Srōš to Ādur, from Ādur back to Urdwahišt, so that the demons shall not be able to destroy it."

In the latter passage, the inclusion of Nēryōsang in the list of *hamkār*s ("collaborators") of Urdwahišt is unusual: normally, only Ādur, Srōš and Warhrām are mentioned.⁵¹ Nēryōsang is sometimes described as 'the messenger of the Yazads';⁵² he was originally, it seems, a divinity of prayer, his chief links being "with fire, before which men's prayers are said and with Sraoša himself".⁵³ This ritual link between prayer and fire probably constitutes another important element in Srōš's relations with Fire, but there appears to be no explicit mention of this in the Pahlavi sources.

12. Srōš's priestly functions,⁵⁴ his spiritual lordship over this world, his connection with the Sacred Word and its protective powers, which gave him a central place in the ritual (see next chapter, *passim*), find a parallel in the functions of a high priest. The word *dastwar* often occurs in connection with his name, e.g.:

⁴⁸ So ZA, loc. cit., Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 323; TD, 14v.10: MKBLWNyl'.

⁴⁹ So ZA, loc. cit., Zaehner, loc. cit.; TD, 14v.13: YXBWNl'.

⁵⁰ Lit. "it joined"; in view of the tense of *azrawēd*, the verb is here translated as a present.

⁵¹ E.g. GBd.XXVI.41-4 q.v.

⁵² Vend.19.34; GBd.XXVI.101, (BTA, 228).

⁵³ Boyce, *Hist* I, 60. Cf. Y.57.3; Visp.7.1; 11.16; Yt.13.85.

⁵⁴ Cf. Y.57.6,8.

Phl.Y.57.24

...dēn i Srōš: dastwar dāštan

"the religious sphere of Srōš: to have a *dastwar*."

Phl.Y.28.5

*[hān gāh] i pad Srōš [dānihēd] [kū ka dastwar dārēnd
šāyēd dānist kū nekīh i az hān gāh cē]*

"[That place] which [is known] through Srōš [i.e. when they have a *dastwar* they may know what (is) the goodness from that place]."

Phl.Y.45.5

ō ōy i man Srōš [ō ōy i man dastwar].

"to my Srōš [to my *dastwar*]."

The word could therefore simply be taken to mean "high priest". However, since it has a fairly wide range of meanings and is so closely associated with Srōš, a more detailed examination is required. Basically, MP. *dastwar*, from an OP. **dastabara*-,⁵⁵ means "having power, one in authority".⁵⁶ Dhabhar (*PhlYV*, gloss., 194), gives: "who bears authority, minister, a wise man; a Dastur, Parsee high priest". Phl. *dastwar* is sometimes used to gloss Av. *ratu*-,⁵⁷ a word meaning "judge" which, in Younger Avestan, is used "von dem geistlichen Vorsteher, der, jedem ahurischen Wesen beigegeben oder zugeschrieben, in allen Fragen, besonders der Religion, die Entscheidung zu treffen hat" or "von dem, der bei religiösen Veranstaltungen das Amt des Priesters und Leiters und damit sogleich des Richters innehat".⁵⁸ The similarity of the functions of the *ratu* and those of Srōš—which, in view of the gloss, must have much in common with those of a *dastwar*—suggests that a *dastwar* was a priest with great authority, who decided questions of a religious nature. A similar conclusion is reached by Christensen⁵⁹ concerning the

⁵⁵ Darmesteter (*EtIr* I, 115), followed by Horn (*GNpEt*, 126-7), rejects the explanation of the first member of the compound as OP. *dasta*- "hand", and derives it from the same root as Av. *dastwā*-. Since we do not know what secondary meanings or associations OP. *dasta*- may have had (cf. NP. *dast* "power, strength, superiority", Steingass, *Dict*, 519), the argument remains inconclusive.

⁵⁶ For this meaning of *dast* in ManPth., see Boyce, *Word-List*, 36. The meaning "having authority, authoritative" is apparent in Phl. in such expressions as *pad dastwar dāštan* "to consider authoritative", when used e.g. of the Religion (*RivDD*.XLVI.20, cf. above, p. 115), or of a king (cf. Phl.Y.31.21: *...xwadāy-dārih [kū pādixšāy i-š ast pad dastwar dārēd]* "having a lord [i.e. he considers the king who is set over him authoritative]").

⁵⁷ Cf. *AirWb*, 1501; e.g. Phl.Y.27.6; *hān i meh rad [dastwar Zardušt]* "the greatest *Ratu*, [*Dastwar* Zarathustra]"; Phl.Y.44.16: *pad paydāgih ō man dahišn dāmān i andar harw dō axw radih cāšīšnīh [rōšnag kū ēdar ud ānōh-iz pad dastwar dārišn hēm]* "the teaching about the *Ratu*-ship of the creatures in both states of existence should manifestly be attributed to me [it is clear that both here and there I am to be recognized as *dastwar*]".

⁵⁸ *AirWb*, 1497-1502.

⁵⁹ *Iran*, 120.

dastwar of Sasanian times: “le *dastwar*, qui a été probablement une sorte d’expert dans les questions de religion, un théologien et jurisconsulte à qui on s’adressait pour décider des cas douteux”. In a note,⁶⁰ he further remarks: “Parfois le mot *dastwar* est employé dans un sens général pour désigner tous les membres du clergé Zoroastrien”.

The authority of the *dastwar* to decide questions of a religious nature for his followers, is illustrated by the following passages:

DkM., 793.6ff. *ud abar öy kē dastwar nē dārēd pad dād: xwēših i ēc kirbag i kunēd nē rasēd ō hān i pahlom axwān.*

“about him who does not have a *dastwar*, (as is prescribed) by law: the ownership of any good deeds that he does will not reach the Best Existence.”

SupplŠnŠ.XII.2,
Kotwal, 24-5. *ciyōn gōwēd pad Sagādūm kū nē kas az hān i asrōšdār mard—kē dastwar nē dārēd—rasēd ō hān i pahlom axwān.*

“As He says in the *Sagādūm* (Nask): no one among the disobedient men—who do not have a *dastwar*—will reach the Best Existence.”

Purs.14,
JamaspAsa/Humbach, 24-6. *pursišn: ēc kār ud kirbag ast i ka nē pad dastwar kunēd, mardōm az wināh bē āwarēd u-š kirbag ō ruwān rasēd? Passox: nē, nōiṭ zī ciš asrao(š)anām tanunām ašahe urva *ciθyāi⁶¹ vī(δ)āiti: cē nē kas i *asrōš-tan⁶² [kē kār ud kirbag nē pad dastwar kunēd] ā-š ahlāyih ō ruwān-tōzišn *windēd [kū-š kirbag wināh nē kanēd].⁶³*

“Question: is there any good deed which, if one performs it without a *dastwar*, delivers men from sin and whose merit reaches one’s soul? Answer: No, *nōiṭ zī ciš asraošanām tanunām ašahe urva *ciθyāi vīdāiti*:⁶⁴ ‘for no disobedient person [who performs good deeds without a *dastwar*] will find Righteousness for expiation for his soul’ [i.e. his meritorious deeds will not extirpate his sins].”

⁶⁰ *ibid.* n. 6.

⁶¹ *JamaspAsa-Humbach*, loc. cit.: *ciθ(i)āi*.

⁶² *JamaspAsa-Humbach*, *ibid.*, read *asruš(t)-tan* (= **šwšttn*). However, since a word **šwš* occurs as a translation of Av. *asraoša-* in *Vend.* 16.18 (cf. also Darmesteter, *ZAv* II, 235 n. 24), the spelling **šwštn* may well be correct. The spelling **šwštn* also occurs in *RivEA.XVII.34*, cf. next note.

⁶³ Virtually the same passage is found in *RivEA.XVII.34* (BTA, 70).

⁶⁴ *JamaspAsa-Humbach*, op. cit., 24: “No soul of disobedient bodies will obtain (the share) of Aša for atonement”.

That interpreting and teaching religious dogma was also part of the task of a *dastwar* is indicated by such phrases as *dastwarān cāšt kū* “the *dastwars* have taught that...”⁶⁵

From all this, it is clear that the *dastwar* was a priest who had authority to interpret the religion and who decided religious questions for his followers. In later usage, the word *dastūr* denotes a high priest, and in earlier days, too, important matters were doubtless decided by priests of great eminence. The question remains, however, whether Phl. *dastwar* denotes a priest of a specific rank in all contexts. As Christensen⁶⁶ pointed out, the word sometimes appears to be used of members of the clergy in general. Moreover, every layman must ‘have a *dastwar*’ to guide him in all religious affairs, and it seems unlikely that such a time-consuming task can have devolved on high priests only. It seems probable therefore that Phl. *dastwar* can denote any priest who is ‘in authority’ to advise and direct the faithful in religious matters. Probably, lower-ranking priests derived their authority (*dastwarīh*) in such matters from that of the *dastwarān* proper, or ‘high priests’. “Having a *dastwar*”, then, — which is the ‘religious sphere of *Srōš*’ (*dēn i Srōš*)—must mean “having a priest”, i.e. “obeying religious authority”.

The word *srōšdārīh*, lit. “having *Srōš*” is used in the sense of ‘obedience’, usually with religious connotations:

RivEA.XVII.31,
BTA, 68. *... ayāb kirbag dōšāram rāy i ast hān i pahlom ud hān i abēzagdom i *ō⁶⁷ frayādišn i ruwān rasišnīgtar (*ka *pad)⁶⁸ srōšdārīh—pad dastwarīh i abēzag dēn-dastwarān—kunēd.*

“... or the good deed for love, which is the best and the purest and that which most comes to the help of the soul (when)⁶⁸ they perform it (with) obedience—with the authority of the pure *Dastwars* of the faith.”

Zādspr.XXVII.15,
BTA, 98. *srōšdārīh rāy andar xwadāy ud rad-dastwar i dēnīg hūniyōxš būdan.*

“to be attentive to the lord and the *Rad-dastwar*⁶⁹ of the religion, for the sake of obedience.”

⁶⁵ E.g. *SupplŠnŠ.XII.14, 15, 16*, (Kotwal, 30-32).

⁶⁶ Loc. cit.

⁶⁷ MS.: *KN* (*ōh*).

⁶⁸ MS. omits. BTA (op. cit., 68 n. 57) suggests that *pad* is missing. If one were to read **pad srōšdārīh, pad dastwarīh i...*, the subject of *kunēd* would presumably have to be *dēn-dastwarān*. The phrase *pad dastwarīh i abēzag dēn-dastwarān*, however, does not seem to require a verb, and it seems preferable therefore to read **ka *pad srōšdārīh... kunēd*.

⁶⁹ *rad-dastwar* also occurs in *RivEA.XVII.32* (BTA, 68); the words seem to form a compound “one who is Ratu and *Dastwar*”.

If, in the latter passage, *xwadāy* "lord" refers to a secular ruler, *srōšdārīh* must be taken to mean simply "obedience", without religious connotations. Since Phl. *xwadāy* sometimes glosses Av. *ahu-* "lord",⁷⁰ and the word is here combined with *rad-dastwar*, it is likely that the passage refers to the *Ahu* and *Ratu*, and that *srōšdārīh* is here, too, used in a religious sense.

Phl. *asrōšīh* occurs in a passage dealing with the interference of a Muslim governor in a Zoroastrian dispute about intercalation:

RivFr.1.5, ...ōy gōwēd kū Ōstād Abū *Mansūr⁷¹ mard-ē sultānīg
BTA, I. 82. ast ud andar dēn nē dānēd abar asrōšīh...

"he says 'Ōstād Ābu *Mansūr is a man of the Sultān, and within the faith he does not know about *asrōšīh*.'"

Here *asrōšīh* seems to mean "incorrect procedure in religious affairs". Phl. *asrušt* renders Av. *asrušti-* "disobedience" in Phl. Y.10.16; in Gathic passages, Av. *asrušti-* is translated *aniyōxšīdārīh* "non-hearkening",⁷² which, in Phl. Y.44.13, is glossed *akard-hēbedestānīh* "not having followed priestly studies". In this interpretation of Av. *asrušti-*, the association of Sraoša with proper religious and ritual conduct may have played a role.

13. Srōš, protector of the righteous and *dastwar* of the religion, is also represented as a defender of the Faith against heresy:

DkM., 857.18 ff. abar nišān ī druz, *xastag⁷³ Mānī ud druwandān ī-š
niyōxšāg ud zanišn ī-š az ōy ī dahībed mad... rasēd
pad padīrag-rasišnīh Srōšahlāy ī xwadāy ō ōy tan ī pad
bēš; hān xwadāy kē ēn pad *hu-zīwišnīh⁷⁴ pānagīh, nē
pad duš-zīwišnīh ud pad kadār-iz-ē zamān bēšīdār ī
druwandān.

"About the sign of the Fiend, the broken-down⁷³ Mānī and the wicked ones who listened to him, and the smiting that came to him from the ruler... Righteous Srōš, the lord, comes to that harmful person to oppose him; that lord whose protection (is) in good living, not in evil living, and (who is), at any time whatever, a tormentor of the unrighteous."⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Cf. *AirWb*, 282.

⁷¹ MSS.: *mswl*.

⁷² Phl. Y.33.4; 43.12; 44.13.

⁷³ MS.: *hstkt*; for this reading, see West, *SBE* XXXVII, 278.

⁷⁴ MS.: *hwz'snyh*; cf. next note.

⁷⁵ For the wording of this passage cf. Phl. Y.46.8: *pad padīrag-rasišnīh pad hān ī harw dō ...rasēd... pad bēš. ō tanān... rasēd... kē ēn pad hu-zīwišnīh pānagīh... nē pad duš-zīwišnīh pad kadār-iz-ē zamān Ohrmazd bēšīdār [i wattarān]*.

14. While Srōš appears to demand rather than personify religious obedience when he is likened to a *dastwar*, elsewhere he seems to be represented as an embodiment of the proper religious attitude to life:

Phl. Y.44.16 ēdōn hān ī weh Srōš [Wištāsp] ā-š rasišn pad Wahman [kū
pad Wahman bē ō dēn āyēd].

"thus good Srōš [Wištāsp] must then come to him through Wahman [i.e. through Wahman he will come to the religion]."

Zādspr. XXXIV.44, Srōšahlāy ī paymānīg ast mēnōg ī paymān u-š frehbūdīh⁷⁶
BTA, 147. ud abēbūdīh ī Āz petyārag.

"Righteous Srōš the moderate is the Spirit of Moderation and his adversaries are the excess and deficiency of Āz."⁷⁷

15. Together with Wahman, Spandarmad, and sometimes with Ard, Srōš is said to control and protect a part of the human mind:

DkM., 49.15 ff. abar⁷⁸ xwadīh ī hannām ī dādār Ohrmazd ī andar gētīg-
dahišnān. pad Wahman mehmān axw ud Spandarmad
wārōm gāh ud Srōš dāštār ī menišn.

"On the properties of the 'limbs' of the creator Ohrmazd (which are) among the creatures of the material world. Through Wahman, consciousness inhabits (them); the mind is the seat of Spandarmad; and Srōš is the keeper of thought".

DkM., 473.4 ff. ...kū mardōmān andar axw menišn-ē; ast yazd ī gāh
dārēd ud ast druz ī rāh dārēd. ud andar menišn gōwišn-ē;
ast yazd ī gāh dārēd ud ast druz ī rāh dārēd. ud andar
gōwišn kunišn-ē; ast yazd ī gāh dārēd ud ast druz ī rāh
dārēd. ud andar axw wārōm-*ē,⁷⁹ Wahman gāh dārēd ud
Akōman rāh dārēd. ud andar wārōm kāmāg-ē, Srōš gāh
dārēd, Xēšm rāh dārēd. ud andar kāmāg menišn-ē,
Spandarmad gāh dārēd, druz ī Tarōmad rāh dārēd.

"... that for men, in consciousness there is a thought; there is a Yazad who has a place there and there is a fiend who blocks the road.⁸⁰ And in thought there is <a> speech; there is a Yazad who has a place there and there is a fiend who blocks the road. And in consciousness there is <a> mind, Wahman has

⁷⁶ MSS.: *plysbwt*.

⁷⁷ On this passage cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 102; 346-352.

⁷⁸ MS.: *QDM*; Menasce, *TrLD*, 67, reads *cē*.

⁷⁹ MS. omits *-ē.

⁸⁰ *rāh dāštan*, cf. *rāhdār* "highway robber"; here the words seem to mean, approximately, "to stand in the way, block the road".

a place there, Akōman blocks the road. In mind there is a desire, Srōš has a place there, Xēšm blocks the road. In desire there is a thought, Spandarmad has a place there, the fiend Tarōmad blocks the road."

DkM., 268.8 ff.

*u-š dānišn, bōwandag-menišnih, xrad ud was hunarān andar mardōm kard;*⁸¹ *Wahman, Spandarmad, Srōš ud was Yazdān ō mardōm rasēnid ud pad-iš mehmānid.*

"And He (i.e. Ohrmazd) created knowledge, perfect-mindedness, wisdom and many (other) virtues among men; Wahman, Spandarmad, Srōš and many (other) Yazads made (these) reach the people and dwell in them."

DkM., 348.3 ff.

*hād uzwān dād ēstēd pad abzārih ī mardōm ō xwēšēnidan pad-iš wuzurg sūd ī az gōwāgih. ud nixwārag ī uzwān ō gōwāgih kām. Akōman, Āz, Xēšm ud abārig druzān ī andar tan rāhdārih, bāstān kōxšāgōmand pad *kardan*⁸² *ī kām ō xwēš-abzārih, kū pad kām-abzārih nixwārēnēd uzwān ō sūd ī az gōwāgih az mardōm āzārēnāg ud zyan ī az-iš awiš rasēnāg <gēhān>*⁸³ *saxwan. Ud dād ēstēd Wahman, Ard, Armad, Srōš ud anī-z weh mēnōg ō *dēskārih*⁸⁴ *ī andar mardōmān tan pad pānagih ī kām ī uzwān az druzān.*

"Now the tongue has been created as an instrument for men, in order to appropriate through it the great benefit from speech. And that which moves the tongue to speech (is) desire. Akōman, Āz, Xēšm and other fiends who block the road within the body (are) always struggling to make desire into an instrument of their own, so that, with desire for instrument, they will move the tongue to words which will deprive⁸⁵ people of the benefit from speech, and cause the harm therefrom to reach them. And Wahman, Ard, Armad, Srōš and other good Spiritual Beings have been created to shape the inside of the body of men⁸⁶ for the protection of the tongue's desire from the fiends."

⁸¹ All imperfects of this passage are written as infinitives.

⁸² MS.: 'BYDWNl.

⁸³ Menasce (op. cit., 329) does not translate *gēhān*. The word has no clear function in this context, and may be a misspelling of *saxwan* which was not deleted.

⁸⁴ *dysk'lyh*.

⁸⁵ *āzārēnāg*, lit. "causing torment, injury"; here, construed with *az*, it must mean "tormenting, injuriously depriving from", cf. Menasce, loc. cit., "en frustrant les hommes".

⁸⁶ Lit. "for the shaping inside the body of men."

DkM., 378.22 ff.

*hād andar mardōm dādār-āfurišnig gētīg-warzidārih cihr, mēnōg-ārāstārih axw *xān;*⁸⁷ *ōh-iz cihrig zindagih ud axwig dānāgih ī andar mardōm mardōmih. ud kām pad *padiriftārih*⁸⁸ *ī az cihr gētīg-warzidārih ud tan-srāyēnidārih, ud az axw dānišn ud kirbag hangēzag ast menišn ō tuxšāgih abar harw dō. Ēbgat-kirrēnišn ud wišuftārih, xān ī harw dō pad mardōm Āz. ōh-iz *agigānih, dušāgānih, *dahig-sōhišnih ud Āzig frehbūd-ārzōgih ud waranigih u-šān zamān-*wiškinnišn*⁸⁹ *ī Ēbgatig pad mardōm ālūdār ud dušcihrēnidār: mardōm pad dēw ud druz-kārih ud Āz pad apaymān-kardārih cihr-arz akārēnēd ud az mēnōg sūd ī gētīg-warzidārih ud tan-srāyēnidārih zāmēnēd ō mēnōg-zyānih harw dō andarag cihr ud kām. *W *k *PWN brādarōdēnid bawēd dānišn pad *dahig-sōhišnih ud hamēstārēnid pad dušāgānih; rašt bazag pad kirbag-rang ud akārēnid harw dō az mēnōg-ārāstārih ud ruwān-*bōzišnih*⁹⁰ *ud zāmēnid ō mēnōg-wišōbišn ud ruwān-ērang andarag kām ud rāhdārih. ud Srōš pad zadan ī Āz ud spōxtan az rāhdārih ī andar cihr-kām abar cihr, Wahman pad wānidan ī Akōman ud spōxtan az rāhdārih ī andarag axw-kām abar axw gāhdārih. ud ka mardōm xwadih mādayān <mādayān>*⁹¹ *bōyōmand ruwān, pad Srōš-gurdih Āz az andarag ī cihr-kām, pad Wahman hamāg xūb *ham-brādagih*⁹² *Akōman az andarag ī axw-kām *wisāndār*⁹³ *bawēd. az cihr paymān-ārzōg ō gētīg-warzidārih ud tan-srāyēnidārih ud az axw Srōšig-dānišn ud kirbag ō kām paywandēd.*

"Now the source of activation of the material side, created by the Creator, in man is Nature; the source of putting in order the spiritual side is Mind;⁹⁴ and thus the natural life and

⁸⁷ MS.: *h'n'*. Menasce (op. cit., 355) regards this as a repetition of the previous *axw* and omits in his translation. A reading *xān* "source", however, yields good sense.

⁸⁸ MS.: *ptyrwpt'lyh*.

⁸⁹ MS.: *zm'n W wšk'n*. Menasce (op. cit., 356) reads *?zamān *wiškanih* "le glissement du temps". Perhaps an emendation to *zamān *wiškinnišn* "division of time" is to be preferred.

⁹⁰ MS.: *bwcšnyh'*. Menasce (loc. cit.) reads *bwcšn y'n*.

⁹¹ The second *m'lyd'n* is perhaps to be omitted, cf. Menasce, loc. cit.

⁹² *hm-'Xkyh*. On *xūb-hambrād* (= Av. *hušhaxa-*), see Dhabhar, *PhlYV*, gloss., 40. Dhabhar reads 'Xk as 'brād; in *Yt*.11.16,18, however, a spelling *hm-'X* occurs for *ham-brād*; a reading 'brādag for 'Xk is therefore to be preferred.

⁹³ MS.: *wsn'l*, cf. *wisāndan* "to separate."

⁹⁴ *axw*, as opposed to *cihr*, must mean "mind"; when it denotes a concept wider than *wārom*, *menišn* or *kāmag*, as in the *Dēnkard* passages on p. 125, the best translation seems to be "consciousness".

mental knowledge in man (constitute) humanity. Desire, receiving from Nature (impulses) to activate the material side and to protect the body—and from Mind knowledge and virtue, stimulates thought to diligence in both (spheres). The source of both the creation of Evil and of destruction in man is Āz; and thus evil, ignorance, destructive feeling,⁹⁵ the desire for excess caused by Āz, lust, and the division⁹⁶ of time caused by the onslaught of Evil, are polluting and evil-making (principles) in man. Men, through demonic and fiendish actions—and Āz, through immoderate activity, render the value of Nature ineffective and lead it from the spiritual benefit inherent in the activation of the material side and the protection of the body, toward spiritual loss, both in (the spheres) of Nature and Desire. ... Knowledge is given a rival in destructive feeling, and an opponent in ignorance; sin is dyed the colour of virtue; both the putting in order of the spiritual side and the salvation of the soul are made ineffective and they are led toward destruction of the spiritual side and damnation of the soul, in (the spheres of) Desire and 'road-blocking'.⁹⁷ And through smiting Āz and rejecting 'road-blocking' of the natural desire, Srōš has a place over⁹⁸ Nature; through defeating Akōman and rejecting the 'road-blocking' of mental desire, Wahman has a place over⁹⁸ Mind. And, since the essence of man is principally his perceptive soul, through the heroism of Srōš it will expel Āz from within the natural desire, and through Wahman's good-fellowship in all things, it will expel Akōman from within the mental desire. As to Nature, the desire for moderation will join the activation of the material side and the protection of the body; as to mind, Srōš-like⁹⁹ knowledge and virtue will join desire."

DkM., 487.1 ff.

...*kū kas-iz mardōm nēst kē az mād zāyēd u-š* 6¹⁰⁰
mēnōg abar nē kōxšēnd: Wahman ud Akōman, Srōš ud
Xēšm, Spandarmad ud druz Tarōmad.....
*ud kē Srōš pad tan mehmān ēg-iš daxšag ēn kū*
andar harw gāh saxwan abāg šāyēd guftan ud ka gōwēnd
**ōh *niyōxšēd*,¹⁰¹ *ud ka āhōg abāz gōwēnd padirēd ud*

⁹⁵ MS.: *dhyk*. Menasce (op. cit., 357) translates "vulgaire". For the meaning "destruction", cf. Haug/West, *AWN*.I.4, pp. 3, 141 ("devastation"); Bailey, *ZorProb*, 151 ("trouble").

⁹⁶ See above, n. 89.

⁹⁷ On *rāhdārīh*, cf. n. 80. Here, in view of the contrast with *andarag cihr ud kām*, one would have expected *andarag axw ud kām*, rather than *andarag kām ud rāhdārīh*.

⁹⁸ Phl. *gāh abar*, lit. "a place over", i.e. "a position as a guardian of".

⁹⁹ Curiously, the adjective *srōšīg* "Srōš-like", is here used to qualify factors which are explicitly said to influence the mental sphere.

¹⁰⁰ MS.: 5.

¹⁰¹ MS.: *ywsyt*.

**wīrāyēd*,¹⁰² *kasān rāy drō nē gōwēd ud hān ī *ōy*¹⁰³
abēwināh nē zanēd ud hān ī wināhkār pad paymān zanēd.

"...that there is no human being who is born of a mother, over whom six Spiritual Beings do not fight: Wahman and Akōman, Srōš and Xēšm, Spandarmad and the fiend Tarōmad. . . . And he in whose body Srōš dwells, his characteristics are these, that one can speak with him at any time, and when they speak, he listens, thus;¹⁰⁴ when they tell him of a fault, he accepts and corrects it; he does not tell a lie to people; he does not strike the innocent one and the sinner he strikes with moderation."

DD.II.15-16,
TDA, 15.

.....*ka Wahman pad menišn, Srōš pad gōwišn ud*
Ard pad kunišn mehmān..... *Srōš-mehmānih ī pad*
gōwišn az hān ī āgāh ī rāst guftār, ud hān ī anāgāh az rāst
dastwarān niyōxšīdār būdān.

"....when Wahman is present in thought, Srōš in speech and Ard in action..... the presence of Srōš in speech (is clear) from (the fact that) he who is aware of what is right, speaks, and he who is unaware of what is right listens to the *Dastwars*."

From the above, it is clear that, although Wahman, Srōš, Spandarmad, and to a lesser extent Ard, were held to play a role in mental processes, Zoroastrian psychology had not reached a state where a specific sphere of activity was consistently assigned to each of them.

16. Some of Srōš's functions, such as 'lord of the material world', '*dastwar*' and 'divinity of prayer', suggest that he is a mediator, maintaining a link between the material and the spiritual world.¹⁰⁵ Evidently, there is an element of this in the functions of all or most *Yazads*, but it is Sraoša who is said to "settle down among Mazdā's creations" (*Y*.57.30), to "move forth at will towards the material world" (*Y*.57.24), because of whose qualities "the Amāša Spēntas came down to the earth" (*Y*.57.23), and through whom they receive worship and prayer (*Y*.60.6, see below, p. 169f.). In the *Srōš-Yašt*, then, this function is sometimes alluded to in terms of movement; this may explain the qualification of the movement of the *Yazads* generally, when moving towards the earth, as 'Srōš-like':

¹⁰² MS.: *wyl'stn'*.

¹⁰³ MS.: '*L (ō)*'.

¹⁰⁴ An emendation of *KN (ōh)* to '*LH (ōy)*' would perhaps yield slightly better sense, but is not strictly necessary.

¹⁰⁵ On this function of Srōš see Zaehner, *Dawn*, 95-6.

DkM., 102.7 ff. *hād yazdān ham-*wimand*¹⁰⁶ *i ruwān i mardōm xwadih pad gōhr. u-šān ciyōnih xwarrah i agumēgih dānāgih i agumēg dušāgāhīh ud wehīh i agumēg wadih ud *mēnōg*¹⁰⁷ *-wāzišnih i srōšig ud ōz i anizār..... pad mēnōg-wāzišnih *wāzēnd*¹⁰⁸ *kū-šān hu-kām-*xēmagih*¹⁰⁹ *xēmān pad xwarrah-*baxtārih*¹⁰⁰ *i ō gēhān ciyōn tēz-ciyōnih i mardōm-menišnih abar xīr.*

"Now the Yazads have an essence which, in substance, is of the same definition¹¹¹ as the soul of man. Their qualities are the fortune (*xwarrah*) of being unmixed: knowledge unmixed with ignorance, goodness unmixed with badness, Srōš-like spiritual movements and force without weakness¹¹².....they move with Srōš-like spiritual movement, i.e. their natures, having a disposition towards good desire (?), (are as quick) in the distribution of *xwarrah* to the inhabitants of the material world as the quick nature of human thought (is) upon matter."

As Boyce¹¹³ suggests, the later identification of Srōš with the Islamic *rijāl al-yaib*, who also pass between this world and the next, is probably connected with his function as a mediator. Srōš sometimes brings messages from the divine realm to the earth:

DkM., 313.20 ff. *ud hān i aštag-frēstišnig handarz fradom ō Siyāmag i Mašyē-pus u-š frazandān pad aštagih i Wahman ud Srōš.*

"And as to the injunctions that were sent by messengers, the first was to Siyāmag, son of Mašyē and to his children, with Wahman and Srōš acting as messengers."

The word 'messenger' is used of Srōš in this passage only, the divine messenger *par excellence* being Nēryōsang, the other Yazad of prayer.

17. Together with Nēryōsang, Srōš will be sent by Ohrmazd to awaken Pēšyōtan at the end of the 1st millennium after Zarathustra:

ZWY.VII.19-21, *ud man dādār Ohrmazd frēstēm Nēryōsang Yazd ud BTA*, 60-62. *Srōšahlāy bē Kang-diz i Siyāwaxš i bāmīg kard, bē*

¹⁰⁶ So Menasce, op. cit., 109.

¹⁰⁷ MS.: *m'mk.*

¹⁰⁸ MS.: *w'e'nd.*

¹⁰⁹ MS.: *h'mkyh.*

¹¹⁰ MS.: *bwh'tlyh*; for this reading compare *DkM.*, 102.20: *XLKWNnd (baxšēnd)*.

¹¹¹ So Menasce, loc. cit.

¹¹² Lit. "un-weak force".

¹¹³ "Bibi Shahrbanū and the Lady of Pārs", *BSOAS* XXX, 1967, 31 with n. 3; cf. *Stronghold*, 83 n. 39.

*Cihrōmayān i Wištāspān i kayān-xwarrah ud dēn rāst-wirāstār, kū *ay*¹¹⁴ *Pēšyōtan i bāmīg, frāz raw ō ēn Ērān-dehān..... ud rawēnd Nēryōsang Yazd ud Srōšahlāy az weh Cigād i Dāitīg ō Kang-diz i Siyāwaxš i bāmīg kard. u-š wāng kunēnd kū frāz raw Pēšyōtan i bāmīg.....awēšān mēnōgihā abar rawēnd, u-šān yazēnd dwāzdah-hōmāst i pad zōhr.*

"And I, the creator Ohrmazd, shall send the Yazad Nēryōsang and righteous Srōš to Kang-diz, which was built by the illustrious Siyāwaxš, to Cihrōmayān, son of Wištāsp, the true restorer of the Kayanian Fortune and the religion, saying 'o illustrious Pēšyōtan, go forth to these lands of Ērān.....'. And the Yazad Nēryōsang and righteous Srōš will go forth from the good *Cigād i Dāitīg*¹¹⁵ to Kang-diz which was built by illustrious Siyāwaxš, and they will call: 'go forth, illustrious Pēšyōtan.....'. They will approach in a spiritual way, and they will celebrate the *Dwāzdah-Hōmāst* with *zōhr*."

AyJam.XVI.51, Mess., 73.

ud pas Srōš ud Nēryōsang Pēšyōtan i ašmāh pus az framān i dādār Ohrmazd az Kang-diz i kayān bē hangēzēnd.

"And Srōš and Nēryōsang will rouse your son Pēšyōtan, at the command of the Creator Ohrmazd, from Kang-diz of the Kayanians."

They will awaken Kiršāsp, the son of Sām, at the end of the millennium of Hōšēdarmāh:

ZWY.IX.20-21, *pas man Ohrmazd i dādār ō Srōš ud Nēryōsang Yazd BTA*, 80-81. *gōwēm kū tan i Sāmān Kiršāsp bē jumbānēnēd tā abar āxēzēd. ud pas Srōš ud Nēryōsang Yazd ō Kiršāsp šawēnd, 3 bār wāng kunēnd.....*

"Then I, Ohrmazd the Creator, shall say to Srōš and Nēryōsang Yazad: 'stir the body of Kiršāsp, son of Sām, so that he will rise up'. And then Srōš and Nēryōsang Yazad will go to Kiršāsp, and will call three times...."

It is Sām, however, who is actually raised up:

ZWY.IX.22, *ud cahārom bār abāg pērōzgarīh Sām abar āxēzēd BTA*, 81. "The fourth time, victoriously, Sām will rise up."

¹¹⁴ MS.: *XN' (ēd)*.

¹¹⁵ *Cigād i Dāitīg* lit. "Peak of the Dāityā", the name of a mountain which was thought to be in the centre of the world, on which the Cinwad-bridge rested and where the judgement of the soul took place; cf. *GBd*.IX.9 (BTA, 94-5), *Phl.Vend*.19.30.

Compare:

AyJam.XVII.6, Mess., 75. *pas Ohrmazd Srōš ud Nēryōsang frēstēd kū: Sām ī Narēmān bē hangēzēd.*

"Then Ohrmazd will send Srōš and Nēryōsang, saying: 'raise up Sām, the son of Narēmān'."

After the coming of the *Saošyant*, Srōš and Nēryōsang will bring back to life more heroes:

AyJam.XVII. 10 ff., Mess., 76. *pas Nēryōsang ud Srōš bē šawēnd. Kay Xusraw ī Siyāwaxšān, Tūs ī Nōdarān, Gēw ī *Gōdarzān¹¹⁶ ud abārīg abāg hazār ganj ud sālār hangēzēnd. Ahreman az dāmān abāz dārēnd, mardōmān ī gētīg hamāg ham-menišn, ham-gōwišn ud ham-kunišn bē bawēnd.*

"Then Nēryōsang and Srōš will go. They will rouse Kay Xusraw, son of Siyāwaxš, Tūs, son of Nōdar, Gēw, son of Gōdarz and others, with a thousand treasures and leaders. They will keep back Ahreman from the creations and the people of the material world will all be of the same thought, word and deed."

18. The legend that Wahman (the *Yazad* of domestic animals) and Srōš brought a ewe to Zarathustra when he had been thrown into a wolf's lair can also be regarded in this light, viz. as help coming to a mortal from the divine sphere:

Zādspr.X.11, BTA, 63. *andar šab Wahman ud Srōšahlāy mēš ī *kūrūšag ī weh-pestān bē ō sūrāg burd.*

"In the night Wahman and righteous Srōš brought a **kūrūšag*-ewe¹¹⁷ with good udders to the hole."

DkM., 617.10 ff. *ēk ēd paydāg kū *ō *ōy¹¹⁸ abar mad hēnd Srōšahlāy ud Wahman u-šān bē ō ōy *kūrūšag ānid.*

"One thing that is revealed is this, that righteous Srōš and Wahman have come to him and brought a **kūrūšag*-(ewe) to him."

¹¹⁶ Messina, loc. cit., has *Gōtaryān*, possibly based on a spelling **gwirē'n*. The name of Gēw's father is usually given as Gōdarz, cf. Justi, *IrNam*, 118; Wolff, *GIFird*, 737.

¹¹⁷ On the **kūrūšag*-sheep, see *Zādspr.III.61* (BTA, LXXIX), where it is described as a sheep-like animal with three humps and one long horn, which was the riding-animal of Manušihr.

¹¹⁸ MS.: 'LH 'L (ōy ō).

19. When Ardāy Wirāz is taken to see heaven and hell, he is accompanied by Srōš and Ādur Yazad.¹¹⁹ In fact, Srōš's function as a mediator between the two worlds finds its clearest expression in his role as a protector of the soul during the three days after death, when the soul is "a spiritual spirit in the material world" (*DD.XXVII.6*, cf. above, p. 109) and as its guide to the Cinwad-bridge on the morning of the fourth day:

SupplŠnŠ. XVII.3, Kotwal, 70-71. *andar 3 rōz hamāg yazišn ī Srōš abāyēd kardan ēd rāy cē ruwān ī ōy az dast ī dēwān 3 rōz Srōš bē tuwān bōxtan.*

"During the three days one should perform all acts of worship for Srōš, because for the three days, Srōš can save his soul from the clutches of the demons."

Purs.33, Jam.Humb., 50-52. *mard ka widērān bawēd ēg-iš.....kadām Yazd abar pādixšāytar? (Passox).....u-š Srōš Yazd abar pādixšāytar....*

"When a man passes away.....which *Yazad* has greatest authority over him? (Answer).....the *Yazad* Srōš has greatest authority over him."

GBd.XXVI.50, BTA., 220 *ruwān ī widardagān pad pānagih ī Srōš ō cēh-widarag rasēnd.*

"the souls of the deceased reach the Cinwad-bridge under the protection of Srōš."

Elsewhere, good Wāy and Warhrām are said to accompany Srōš when he takes the soul up to the Bridge:

MX.II.114 ff. Sanj., 10-11. *ud tā 3 rōz-šabān ruwān pad bālēn ī tan nišinēd; ud rōz ī cahārom andar ōšbām pad abāgih ī Srōš ī ahlaw ud Wāy ī weh ud Warhrām ī amāwand ud hamēstārih ī Astwidād ud Wāy ī wattar ud Frazišt-dēw ud Nizišt-dēw ud duš-kām-kardārih ī Xēšm ī *anāg-kardār¹²⁰ ī xurdruš tā ō Cinwad puhl ī buland ī sahmgēn šawēd kē harw ahlaw ud druwand awiš madār. ud was hamēstār ānōh pād ēstēnd. pad anāgih-kāmagih ī Xēšm ī xurdruš ud Astwidād kē hāmōyēn dām ōbārēd ud sagrih nē dānēd. ud mayānjigih ī Mihr, Srōš ud Rašn, ud tarāzēnīdārih ī Rašn*

¹¹⁹ Cf. Haug/West, *AWN*, *passim*.

¹²⁰ Sanjana has 'm'k krt'l; MS. K₄₃, however, has 'n'k' krt'l, which appears to be the more likely reading, cf. *MX.XI.117*: *pad anāgih-kāmagih ī Xēšm* "with Xēšm's desire for evil". West's translation (*SBE* XXIV, 17) "the evil-doer" is clearly based on the reading *anāg(ih)-kardār*.

*i rāst ud ka ruwān ī ahlawān pad hān
puhl widerēd *ēw¹²¹ frasang hamānāg hān puhl pahnāy
bawēd, ud hān ī ahlawān ruwān pad abāgih ī Srōš ī ahlaw
bē widerēd.*

"And for three days and nights the soul sits by the highest part of the body. And on the fourth day, at dawn, with the assistance of righteous Srōš, good Wāy and strong Warhrām, with the opposition of Astwidād, evil Wāy, the demon Frazīšt and the demon Nizišt,¹²² and with the malevolent activity of Xēšm, the evil-doer,¹²⁰ with the bloody club, it goes up to the Cinwad-bridge, the high, the terrible to which each righteous and each unrighteous (soul) comes. And many opponents are standing there, with the desire for evil of Xēšm of the bloody club and Astwidād, who devours all creatures and knows no satiety. And the mediation of Mihr, Srōš and Rašn, and the weighing of Rašn the just. And when the soul of the righteous passes over the bridge, the breadth of that bridge seems to be one *farsang*, and the soul of the righteous passes over with the assistance of righteous Srōš."

The soul of the unrighteous, on the other hand, meets with Srōš's opposition on its way to the Cinwad-bridge:

*MX.II.161-2, rōz ī cahārom Wizarš-dēw āyēd ud ruwān ī druwand pad
Sanj. 13-4. hān ī wattar *šawlān¹²³ bandēd ud pad hamēstārih ī Srōš ī
ahlaw šawēd tā ō Cinwad-puhl.*

"On the fourth day, the demon Wizarš¹²⁴ comes and binds the soul of the unrighteous one with the worst fetters and, with the opposition of the righteous Srōš, it goes up to the Cinwad-bridge."

20. The 'Judges of the Bridge' are Mithra, Sraoša and Rašnu;¹²⁵ the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* sums up the *Yazads* who make up the account of a man's deeds at various stages of his existence:

*DD.XXX.10, ud hān āmār bawēd pad hangām ī āmār bawēd. āmārgar
TDA, 60. Ohrmazd, Wahman, Mihr, Srōš, ud Rašn; harw ēk pad
xwēš hangām hamāg pad rāstih āmār kunēd ciyōn pad
dar ī xwēš passox nibišt.*

¹²¹ MSS.: *XN'*, cf. Brunner *SyntWMIr*, 42.

¹²² On Frazīšt and Nizišt see L. H. Gray, *Foundations*, 205, 212.

¹²³ MSS. PB, W: *š'wrn*; rest: *š'wlān*. Sanjana (op. cit., 14 n. 1) reads *š'wrn* as *šūwan* "cord"; compare, however, NP. *šawlān* "halter, noose, rope" (so Steingass, *Dict.*, 767; Mo'in, *Farhang-e Fārsi* II, 2092; Vullers, *Lexicon* II, 481. Dehkhodā, *Loghatnāma*, S, 76 has *šawlān*).

¹²⁴ On Wizarš see Gray, op. cit., 217.

¹²⁵ Cf. the *MX*. passage above and Boyce, *Hist* I, 240-1.

"and that account will be at the time when the account will be; those who make up the account are Ohrmazd, Wahman, Mihr, Srōš and Rašn; each at their own time they will make up the account of all, with truth, as was described, as an answer, in its own chapter."

*DD.XIII.2-3.
TDA, 30.*

*. . . .āmār ī abar kunišngarān pad kirbag ud wināh, tā
kunišngar zindag bawēd harw rōz 3 bār Wahman
Amahraspand kunēd ciyōn-iš *menišn,¹²⁶ gōwišn ud
kunišn ī harwisp axw ī astōmand āmārēnidan andar
xwēškārīh ast. abar wināh ī hamēmālān ī ō mihrōdrujān
kunihēd gētīgih-iz abar tan ud nāf ud āwādag ī mihr-
drōzān Mihr guft ēstēd. pad candih ud pad-iz wēš kū-
gyāgih ud kay-zamānih āmārgar Mihr. pad stōš abar
paymān ī kirbag ud wināh ud sāmān ī ahlawih ud
druwandih Srōšahlāy ud Rašn ī rāst. pad tan ī pasēn pad
spurrīgih ī harw āmār āmārēnēd xwad dādār Ohrmazd kē-
š az hān-iz ī *stōš¹²⁷ hammis āmār ī hamāg menišn,
gōwišn ud kunišn ī dāmān āškārag andar hān ī ōy harwisp-
āgāh xrad.*

"... the account about the doers as to good and evil deeds, so long as the doer is alive, the Amahraspand Wahman makes it up three times every day, since making up the account of the thoughts, words and actions of the whole corporeal existence is among his proper functions. About the sin against the opponents which is ascribed to¹²⁸ the contract-breakers, (in) the material world, too, Mihr is said (to be the judge) over the contract-breakers themselves and their families and generations. And about the quantity and also, mostly, about the place and the time,¹²⁹ the account is Mihr. On the fourth morning after death (the judges) over the measure of good and evil deeds and the limits of righteousness and unrighteousness, are righteous Srōš and just Rašn. In the Ultimate Existence, at the completion of each account, the Creator Ohrmazd himself makes up the account, (Ohrmazd) to whom the accounts of all thoughts, words and deeds of the creatures, together with that of the fourth morning, are evident in his omniscient wisdom."

¹²⁶ MSS.: *mnšn*.

¹²⁷ So MS. TD, followed by West, *SBE* XVIII, 33, and TDA, loc. cit.; the other MSS. have *m'l ZY shwš* (*āmār ī Srōš*) which also yields good sense.

¹²⁸ *wināh ī hamēmālān ī ō mihrōdrujān kunihēd*, lit. "the sin of the opponents which is made unto the contract-breakers". As it would seem unlikely that Mithra would sit in judgement particularly over those who had sinned against the contract-breakers, the most plausible interpretation of the passage appears to be that the responsibility for this sin is attributed to the contract-breakers.

¹²⁹ *kū-gyāgih* and *kay-zamānih*, lit. "the place where" and "the time when".

21. As Boyce¹³⁰ has shown, the dog, too, was thought to provide a link between the spheres of the living and the dead. The parallelism of their functions in this respect may have contributed to the association of the dog with Srōš, as described in *GBd*.XXIV.48 (cf. above, p. 118).

22. Apart from their association as 'Judges of the Bridge', Mihr, Srōš and Rašn are mentioned together in connection with swearing a false oath. (As this appears to be primarily a sin against Mithra, Srōš and Rašn may have been mentioned here because of their association with him):

DkM., 778.20 ff. *abar garān wināh ī sōgand ī drō *xwardan*¹³¹ *kū jud-iz az *dōwāy*¹³² *lōzišnīh ī xwāstag ī sōgand pad-iš xward ō hamēmālān, tar kardan-iz ī Mihr, Srōš ud Rašn rāy škeft Ēbgat-petyārag ō xwēštan ud zan ud frazand ud xwāstag ud garān puhl ō xwēš ruwān paywastan.*

"About the grievous sin of swearing a false oath: that, even apart from the double restitution¹³² to the opponents of the property about which the oath was sworn, also, because of abusing Mihr, Srōš and Rašn, one brings on oneself, one's wife, children and property the hard misfortune of Evil, and on one's own soul a heavy penalty."

Srōš and Rašn are mentioned together in connection with false judgment:

GBd.XXVI.116-7, *...ruwān-iz ī mardōmān pad wināh ud kirbag Rašn āmārēnēd. ciyōn gōwēd kū dādwar wīzīr ī drō kunēd Rašn ānōh gāh nē wēnēd ud Srōšahlāy garzēd kū-m gētīg pad-iš tang kū rāstīh ānōh nē mehmān.*

"... and Rašn makes up the account of the souls of men as to sins and good deeds. As He says: a judge who passes a false judgment, Rašn does not see his rank there, and Srōš complains: the material world is narrow for me because of him, for truth does not dwell there."

Furthermore, the close association between Mihr, Srōš and Rašn is reflected by the fact that the days of the month devoted to each of them succeed one another:

GBd.Ia.23. *hān 30 rōz ī pad mähigān nihād ēstēd ū-š nām*.....
BTA. 28-9. *Day, Mihr, Srōš, Rašn,.....*"

¹³⁰ Stronghold, 139 ff.

¹³¹ MS.: *ŠTHNt* (*xward*); this could also be taken as "an oath falsely sworn".

¹³² MS.: *dwb'y* for **dww'y*, cf. *F* 25b (Klingenschmitt, p. XVII): *dww'y NKĒ twcšn*, "the (stolen) matter is to be restored twice".

"the thirty days which are set in the months, their names are.....Day, Mihr, Srōš, Rašn....."

SupplŠnŠ.
XXIII.3,
Kotwal, 94-5.

Day pad Mihr ciyōn Ohrmazd, Mihr dādwartar, Srōš tagīgtar Rašn rāsttar....."

"Day pad Mihr is like Ohrmazd, Mihr is most¹³³ just, Srōš most vigorous, Rašn most right....."

HandAm.134-36,
Nawabi, 516.

Mihr-rōz agar-at kas mustōmandih-ē abar mad ēstēd, pēš ī Mihr ēst ud az Mihr dādwarīh xwāh ud garzišn kun. Srōš-rōz bōxtārīh ī ruwān ī xwēš rāy ō Srōšahlāy āyāft xwāh. Rašn-rōz.....

"On rōz Mihr, if any unhappiness has come to you from someone, stand before Mihr and ask justice from Mihr and complain (to him); on rōz Srōš, ask for the salvation of your own soul as a boon from righteous Srōš; on rōz Rašn....."

An enumeration of flowers dedicated to the individual *Yazads* follows the order of the days of the month:

GBd.XVIa.2,
BTA, 152.

...hamāg wiškōfihā Mihr, hērīg ī suxr Srōš ud nastaran Rašn.....

"all kinds of blossom to Mihr, the red wallflower to Srōš and the sweet briar to Rašn...."

The role which Srōš and Nēryōsang will play together in eschatological events has been described above. Together with Mihr, Rašn and other *Yazads*, Srōš will also support Pēšyōtan and prepare the world for his coming:

ZWY.VII.27-30,
BTA, 64-66.

*ud man dādār Ohrmazd abāg Amahraspandān ō Gar ī *Hugēr <y't> āyēm. ud framāyēm ō Amahraspandān kū gōwēnd ō hamāg yazdān mēnōgān kū rawēd ud rasēd ō hayyārīh ī Pēšyōtan ī bāmīg... ud Mihr ī frāx-gōyōt, Srōš ī tagīg, Rašn ī rāst, Warhrām ī amāwand, Aštād ī pērōzgar, Xwarrah ī dēn ī mazdēsnañ ud Nērang ī *rāyēnidār*¹³⁴ *ī gēhān-ārāstār pad framān ī..... man dādār Ohrmazd ō pušt rasēm ō hayyārīh ī Pēšyōtan ī bāmīg. bē zanēnd dēwān tom-tōhmagān.*

¹³³ Lit. "the more just", etc.

¹³⁴ MSS.: *f'dynyt'lyh*.

"And I, the Creator Ohrmazd, shall come to Mount Hugēr¹³⁵ with the Amahraspandān; and I shall command the Amahraspandān to say unto all the spiritual *Yazads*: go, and come to the aid of illustrious Pēšyōtan. And Mihr of wide pastures, vigorous Srōš, just Rašn, strong Warhrām, victorious Aštād, the Fortune of the religion of the Mazdayasnians and the Incantation which arranges and establishes order in the world will (come)¹³⁶ at (my)¹³⁶ command. I, the Creator Ohrmazd, shall come for support to the aid of illustrious Pēšyōtan. They will smite the demons, who are of the seed of darkness."

Mihr, Srōš and Rašn are also among the *Yazads* who help 'the man of Padišxwārgar'¹³⁷ and the king of that country in their battle against the Turks, Arabs and Byzantines:

AyJam.XVI.50, Mess., 73. ud pad nērōg ī yazdān ī Ērān(-šahr ud Xwarrah ī)¹³⁸ Kayān, Xwarrah ī dēn ī māzdēsnañ ud Xwarrah ī Padišxwārgar, ud Mihr, Srōš, Rašn, Ābān, Ādurān ud Ātaxšān abēr škoft karezār frāz kunēd.

"And with the strength of the *Yazads* of Ērān-šahr, and the Kayanian Fortune and the Fortune of the religion of the Mazdayasnians and the Fortune of Padišxwārgar, and¹³⁹ Mihr, Srōš, Rašn, the Waters and the Fires (Ādurān and Ātaxšān), they will deliver a very hard battle."

23. At the coming of *Frašegird* (i.e. the 'Renovation' at the end of time), Wahman, Mihr, the Amahraspandān and Srōš all play a role:

*DkM., 824.11 ff. pad frašegird zamān garōdmān frōd ō star-pāyag ud zamīg ul ō ānōh wihēzēnēd. pad hamāg kār Wahman ō ham-pursagih *xwāst¹⁴⁰ ud ka-š xwānēnd pad gyāg Mihr nigerišnih az ahlāyih būdan. pad hān ī rāst saxwan Amahraspandān ō hayyārih ī *Mihr;¹⁴¹ pad Amahraspandān ud Srōšahlāy abāgih bēšidārān bēš *tarwēnēd.¹⁴²*

¹³⁵ MSS.: *gl ZY hwkyly't Y'TWNm*. The first *y't* appears to be due to diplography. *Hugēr* (or *Hugar* (*hwgl*), so *GBd.LX.7*), renders Av. *hukairya-* (cf. *AirWb*, 1818).

¹³⁶ Text omits.

¹³⁷ I.e. Šāh Warhrām, cf. Messina, op. cit., 116, n. 2. For references on Šāh Warhrām, who is expected to deliver the Zoroastrians from hardship, see Boyce, *Hist I*, 292 n. 80.

¹³⁸ Cf. Messina, op. cit., 73 with n. 4.

¹³⁹ The syntax of this passage is not clear; Messina (op. cit., 117) translates: "e lo splendore della religione mazdea e lo splendore di Patašxwārgar e di Mithra, Srōš e Rašn e delle acque...". This seems unlikely, as it would place 'Padišxwārgar' (rather than 'the Fortune of P.') on a par with the *Yazads* Mihr, Srōš and Rašn.

¹⁴⁰ MS.: *B'YXWNt* (*xwāst*); cf. n. 143 below.

¹⁴¹ *mtr'* or *min'*; cf. n. 144 below.

¹⁴² MS.: *thwynyt'n*.

"At the time of *Frašegird*, Paradise will be moved down to the level of the stars and the earth will be moved up to there. In every affair, Wahman will be asked¹⁴³ for consultation; and when they ask him, Mihr's observation about righteousness will be present; about the True Word, the Amahraspandān (will come) to the aid of Mihr;¹⁴⁴ with the assistance of the Amahraspandān and righteous Srōš, the evil of the evil-doers will be overcome."

It is not clear whether this passage refers to the Last Judgement, or if it is intended to describe a more general state of affairs at the time of *Frašegird*. According to the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (DD.XIII.3; cf. above, p. 135), the last Judgement is in the hands of Ohrmazd. It is also described by Zādspram:

*Zādspr. XXXV.31-33, BTA, 157. ud Ahunwad-gāh ka 2 zamān ī ast 12 ēk rōz-šabānīg ō šab abāz, Ohrmazd pad abāgih ī Srōš*ahlāy¹⁴⁵ az nēm-rōz ālag ud sāmān frāz ō hanjaman rasēd; abar hamēšag-(*sūd)¹⁴⁶-gāh ī xwad-dād nišīnēd. paydāgih ī ahlawān andar druwandān ōwōn ciyōn asp ī spēd andar asp ī syā. frēstag kē-š xwēškārih *šasabih¹⁴⁷ zanēd. ahlaw *az¹⁴⁸ druwand bē *wizārihēd.¹⁴⁹*

"And on the Ahunwad-gāh day,¹⁵⁰ when two hours—which is one twelfth of a day and a night—remain before the night, Ohrmazd, accompanied by righteous Srōš, will come forth to the assembly from the southern side and boundary; and he will sit on his self-created throne of eternal benefit.¹⁴⁶ The righteous will stand out among the unrighteous like white horses among black horses. The angel whose proper function is

¹⁴³ On the past tense of the verb, which must logically have a future meaning, cf. *MX.VIII.13*: *ud ka 9000 sāl bowandag būd Ahreman akārihēd*, "And when the 9000 years will be completed, Ahreman will be made powerless" (see below, p. 141).

¹⁴⁴ Or, reading *ō hayyārih *madan*, "(will) come to help". However, since every sentence seems to introduce a new divinity, or group of divinities, whose function is linked to that of the one mentioned previously, *mtr'* appears to be the better reading.

¹⁴⁵ MS.: *'t dyh*.

¹⁴⁶ MSS. omit *sūd*. However, as *hamēšag* is not normally used as an adjective, and the words *hamēšag-sūd gāh ī xwad-dād* occur in *Phl.Vend.19.36*, it seems plausible to emend to *hamēšag-sūd*. Moreover, in the *Vendīdād*, the words render Av. *misvānahe gātvahe x'ādātahe*, i.e. *Hammistagān*, the neutral station between heaven and hell (cf. *AirWb*, 1186-7). This seems an appropriate place for Ohrmazd to sit at the time of the Final Judgement.

¹⁴⁷ MS.: *šspyh*. BTA, op. cit., CXXVII, does not translate. If the reading *šasabih* is correct, it would be tempting to speculate whether Srōš could be meant. The text is not specific enough, however, to permit of a conclusion.

¹⁴⁸ MSS.: *MNW*.

¹⁴⁹ MSS.: *c'lyhyt*.

¹⁵⁰ I.e. normally the first of the five intercalary or "*Gāthā*" days; (cf. *GBd. I a.22*, BTA, 28-9). Here the Ahunwad-gāh seems to be followed immediately by *rōz* Ohrmazd, i.e. the beginning of *Frašegird* (cf. *Zādspr.XXXV.47*, BTA, CXXIX).

being a satrap¹⁴⁷ will smite. . . . and the righteous will be separated from the unrighteous."

The final *Yasna*, celebrated by Ohrmazd and Srōš, is described in the *Bundahišn* (GBd.XXXIV.27 ff; cf. above, p. 113 f).¹⁵¹ In the same passage, Srōš is said to defeat Xēšm and then, through the last *Yasna*, Ohrmazd and Srōš overcome Ahreman and Āz. In the *SupplŠnŠ.*, too, Srōš is represented as the antagonist of both Xēšm and Āz:

SupplŠnŠ. XXII.17, Kotwal, 90-1. *Srōš i ahlaw wānīdār i dēwān Āz ud Xēšm ud Niyāz az tō dūr dārād ud kušād.*
"May Srōš the righteous, the vanquisher of demons, keep Āz (Greed), Xēšm (Wrath) and Want away from you, and kill them."

Srōš's victory over Āz is described in the following passages:

Zādspr. XXXIV.44-5, BTA, 146-7. *frāz ō zamīg āyēnd Ohrmazd, Ahreman, Srōš ud Āz. *ōy¹⁵² Ohrmazd Ahreman zanēd; tā *baxtiḡ¹⁵³ būd Āz abāg Ahremān cār nē ayābēd. hān-iz rāy ka Ohrmazd wisp-dādār i rōšnīh u-š tārīgīh i Ahreman petyārag, Srōšahlāy i paymānīg ast mēnōg i paymān u-š *freh-būdīh¹⁵⁴ ud abēbūdīh i Āz petyārag, ham-brēh hēnd pad kōxšīšn. bē ciyōn Āz abāg baxtiḡ bawēd, Ahreman ēwtāg, u-š hamēmāl 3: 2 jud-gōhr i ast Ohrmazd ud Srōš, ud ēk ham-gōhr i ast Āz i baxtiḡtar. ka-š hayyār bē ō hamēmālīh *wašt¹⁵⁵ hambadīg pērōzihēd.*

"Ohrmazd, Ahreman, Srōš and Āz will come forth to the world. He, Ohrmazd will smite Ahreman; as long as Āz was allied¹⁵³ with Ahreman, he (Ohrmazd) finds no remedy. Also, since Ohrmazd is the universal creator of light and his adversary is the darkness of Ahreman, and righteous Srōš the moderate is the Spirit of Moderation and the excess and deficiency of Āz are his adversaries, they are of equal stature¹⁵⁶ in combat. Except¹⁵⁷ when he is allied with Āz,

¹⁵¹ For a different account of the last *Yasna*, with Sōšyāns and the Amahraspandān acting as priests see *Zādspr* XXXV.15-16, BTA, CXXIV-CXXV.

¹⁵² MSS.: 'L (ō).

¹⁵³ MSS. here *bwhtyk*, elsewhere in this passage *bhtyk*. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, 346, reads *baxtiḡ*, which he translates as "allied, in league with" (pp. 352, 466).

¹⁵⁴ MSS.: *plysbwt*.

¹⁵⁵ MSS.: *gd't*, probably to be read *gšt*, cf. NP. *gaštan*.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Zaehner, op. cit., 469.

¹⁵⁷ Zaehner (op. cit., 352) translates *bē* as "but". He then adds an unattested negation to the text: "But when Āz is (no longer) in league with (Ahreman), Ahreman is alone. . . .". Since *bē*, followed by a subordinate clause, can mean "except" (Nyberg, *ManPhl*.II, 46) and *abāg* can be

Ahreman is alone, and his opponents are three: two of a different nature, viz. Ohrmazd and Srōš, and one of the same nature, viz. Āz, his greatest ally. When his helper has turned away to the opposition, the Adversary will be vanquished."

RivDD. XLVIII.94, Dhabbar, 156.

*Ohrmazd abāg Srōš*ahlāy¹⁵⁸ ul ēstēd ud Srōš*ahlāy¹⁵⁹ Āz bē zanēd, Ohrmazd Gannāg Mēnōg.*

"Ohrmazd will rise up, together with righteous Srōš, and righteous Srōš will smite Āz, Ohrmazd (will smite) the Evil Spirit."

In a *Mēnōg i Xrad* passage, only Srōš's triumph over Xēšm is mentioned, and Āz is said to be overcome by other divinities:¹⁶⁰

MX.VIII.13 ff., Sanj., 22. *ud ka 9000 sāl bowandag būd, Ahreman akārīhēd ud Srōš i ahlaw Xēšm bē zanēd ud Mihr ud Zurwān i akanārag ud Mēnōg i Dādestān kē pad ēc kas ne drōzēd ud Baxt ud Bayōbaxt hāmōyēn dām ud dahišn i Ahreman ud pad abdomīh Āz-iz dēw be zanēnd.*

"And when the 9000 years will be completed, Ahreman will be made powerless. Srōš the righteous will smite Xēšm. Mihr, Zurwān i Akanārag, the Spirit of Justice, who deceives no one, and Fate and Providence will smite all the creatures and creations of Ahreman, and ultimately they will also smite the demon Āz."

Thus, Srōš is described in the Pahlavi books as 'lord of the material world', acting as a vice-regent of Ohrmazd, as a protector of the good creation against the powers of evil, especially at night, and as a guardian of the True Word. He has a special place in the ritual and is compared to a *dastwar*, i.e. one who has authority in religious matters, especially a high priest; he therefore demands obedience from the faithful, whilst at the same time embodying the mental attitude which is required of a Zoroastrian, and which results from 'obedience' in the sense of 'thinking, speaking and acting in accordance with the commands of the religion'. Together with Wahman, Spandarmad and Ard he is said to control part of the mind. He is a mediator between the *mēnōg* and the *gētīg* world, and acts as a divine messenger and as a psychopomp. Together with Mihr and Rašn, with whom he has numerous

used as a postposition (Brunner, op. cit., 117), a translation "except when he is allied with Āz" seems preferable.

¹⁵⁸ MSS. BK, J: *hl'dyh*; rest: *hlwb*, cf. next note.

¹⁵⁹ MS. BK: *slwš'hl'dyh*; MR₁, J: *slwš'hl'dyh*.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Zaehner, op. cit., 252 ff.

other links, he judges the soul at the Cinwad-bridge. He also plays a prominent part in bringing about the Renovation (*Frašegird*).

That Srōš's role as a mediator and psychopomp was felt to be one of his characteristic functions is illustrated by the fact that the name Srōš-ahrāy is used in Manichaean Middle Persian texts to denote the 'Column of Glory', "who is both a god, and the path by which the redeemed Light ascends to the Sky";¹⁶¹ it was also the path by which the soul passed on its way to Paradise. The use of the name Srōšāw Yazd in Manichaean Parthian for the 'Father of Greatness', who "evoked by word Emanations of himself, to do battle with the powers of Darkness"¹⁶² (the Emanations being the Manichaean gods), can perhaps be taken to reflect the pre-eminent role which Srōš, as *sālār* of the material world, played in the religious life of a large section of the Zoroastrian community (see further below, p. 179 ff.).

¹⁶¹ Boyce, *Reader*, 6; cf. also *ibid.*, 10.

¹⁶² Boyce, *op. cit.*, 4; cf. also *ibid.*, 5, 8.

CHAPTER FOUR

SRAOŠA IN THE RITUAL AND DAILY OBSERVANCES

Owing to the scarcity of sources describing present-day Irani practices, most of the information presented here which refers to modern observances is drawn from Parsi sources, with occasional references to Irani practice. Since slight discrepancies exist between current Indian and Iranian observance, it is possible that reference to some relevant Irani practices may have been omitted. It is believed, however, that the following presents an adequate overall picture of Sraoša's role in the ritual and daily observances of Zoroastrianism.

The material is arranged according to topic, in the following order: 1) the single *šnūman* ("dedication") to Srōš — 2) daily prayers to Srōš — 3) his place in funerary rites and practices — 4) the *Āfrinagān* of Srōš — 5) the *drōn*-service — 6) the *Vendidad* ceremony — 7) the *Nirangdīn* (the consecration ceremony of the sacred bull's urine) — 8) the *Barešnum* (the greatest rite of purification) — 9) building and consecrating a Tower of Silence — 10) the consecration of Sacred Fires — 11) initiation ceremonies — 12) the role of the *Srōšāwarz* — 13) Sraoša's role in other ceremonies and observances.

1. On the ritual plane, Sraoša's singular position among the *Yazads* is reflected by the fact that his *šnūman* (i.e. the dedication to him), is recited alone, whereas the dedications to other divinities are normally preceded by that of Ohrmazd. This is referred to, and to some extent explained, in two Pahlavi passages:

*RivDD.*¹
LVI.3

"the others (i.e. the *Yazads*) are to be worshipped together with Ohrmazd, except Srōš, for Srōš is the lord and ruler of the world; therefore one should worship him alone."

DD.
XXVIII.

"why is it not allowed to perform the worship of Srōš with another, second *šnūman*; (i.e.) that they worship him separately? The answer (is) this that the Creator (is) the lord of all things, who (is) beneficent towards his own creation and holds dear the status of his own true servant, which he bestowed on Srōš; and for this reason, one must worship him separately."

In the Persian *Rivāyats*² too, this exceptional dedication is explained with the statement that Srōš is the lord of this world (Ohrmazd being described

¹ For the *RivDD.* passage see above, p. 109; for the *DD.* passage see above, p. 113.

² See Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 166-7.

here as lord of the spiritual world only³), and that one cannot approach the lord of the spiritual world before one has worshipped the leader (*sālār*) of this world. In one passage,⁴ the practice is said to be based on a prohibition by Ohrmazd himself: "The Creator Ohrmazd has said to Zartošt in the Avesta thus: the *šnūmans* of us both cannot be recited at one and the same place."

Kotwal and Boyd⁵ describe the single invocation of Srōš as a "singular honour . . . bestowed on Srōš because he is entrusted by Ohrmazd with the work of protecting this world, the here and now, hence the directness of his *šnūman*."

There is only one other occasion when a dedication can be made without the *šnūman* of Ohrmazd: on Mithra's own day of the year (*rōz Mihr*, *māh Mihr*), some priests recite the *drōn*-service with a dedication to him alone.⁶

If exceptional honour can thus be rendered to a great divinity like Mithra by reciting a single dedication to him once a year, it seems legitimate to wonder if the intention to honour Srōš can, in itself, have been sufficient motivation to account for the adoption of the single dedication to him as a regular practice. It seems possible that on the occasions when Sraoša is most frequently invoked, viz. when there is danger of pollution or direct contact with evil, a dedication to Ohrmazd was felt to be inappropriate. As a result, the practice of reciting the *šnūman* of Srōš alone may gradually have been adopted whenever Sraoša was invoked.

In fact, it seems to be characteristic that while, in the ritual, Ohrmazd and most other divinities are scrupulously protected from contact or association with the powers of evil and pollution, Srōš is apparently felt to be capable of dealing directly with such forces. This accords well with the fact that he is often represented as attacking and defeating the forces of evil.⁷ That he is not defiled by such contact in any way may be implied in Y.57.10, where he is said to "inflict a *bloodless*⁸ wound on Aēšma".

This special potency to deal with the powers of evil may also be the factor which makes it possible for Srōš to "settle down among Mazda's creations" (Y.57.30), and thus to be honoured as lord of this world, where he can effectively "watch over the truces and treaties between the *Drug* and the Most Bounteous (Spirit)" (Yt.11.14). (It seems possible, too, that the passage "because of his strength and victoriousness . . . , the Aməša Spəntas came down to the earth . . ." (Y.57.23), implies that it is because Sraoša maintains

³ Cf. *GBd*. XXVI.46-8 (above, p. 109), where Ohrmazd is said to be lord of both worlds.

⁴ Cf. Dhabhar, op. cit., 167.

⁵ F. M. Kotwal and J. W. Boyd, "Some notes on the Parsi *Bāj* of Mihragān", *JMiS* 1.2, 1976, 189.

⁶ Cf. Boyce, "On Mithra's part in Zoroastrianism", *BSOAS* XXXII, 1969, 32 with n. 112.

⁷ On the similarity between Sraoša and Mithra in this respect see Ch. V, p. 165 ff.

⁸ On this see further Benveniste, *HemingMemVol*, 39.

the balance between good and evil in the world of Mixture, that the Bounteous Immortals can be worshipped there at all.)

The hypothesis that the single dedication to Sraoša is made because he comes directly into contact with pollution would therefore explain why Ohrmazd cannot be worshipped together with Srōš, and also be consistent with the statement that Sraoša is thus honoured because he is lord of this world.

On the material plane, a parallel for this power to touch pollution directly whilst remaining sacred and undefiled can be found in the properties of *gōmēz*, i.e. cow's or bull's urine, a sacred substance which is applied to polluted surfaces before these are brought into contact with the pure element water.

Prayer, which serves Sraoša as a victorious weapon (Y.57.22), possesses the same power and can have a similar function. At the beginning of Limited Time, for example, Ohrmazd is said to have stunned Ahreman, not by a direct blow, but through the recitation of the *Ahunawar*-prayer.⁹ In the ritual and daily observances, the protective and defensive powers of the *maqθra* are demonstrated by the use of sacred formulas as "framing *bāj*",¹⁰ i.e. prayers which are set around ritual acts as a protective measure. Warding off evil is only one of the functions of the sacred formulas, however. The liturgy which accompanies the ritual, for example, constitutes an integral part of most rites and can in turn be protected by other *maqθras*. (This process is clearly illustrated by the development of the liturgy of the *Yasna*,¹¹ where the original protecting *maqθras* in time came to be enclosed protectively by new texts).

2. Protection of the righteous and defeat of the powers of evil are the dominant themes in a group of texts known as the *Srōš Bāj*,¹² which together constitute one of the most important and frequently used prayers of Zoroastrianism. In its present form, the *Srōš Bāj* is composed of the following texts:¹³

0 (*Pāzand*¹⁴ *Dibāca*) *pa nqm i yazdā. hōrməzd i x'adāe awazūnī gurz x'arahe awazāyāt. srōš i ašō i tagī i tan-farmān i škaft-zīn i zīn-*

⁹ Cf. *GBd*. I.29.

¹⁰ See M. Boyce and F. Kotwal, "Zoroastrian *bāj* and *drōn*", *BSOAS* XXXIV, 1971, 56-73; 298-313.

¹¹ Cf. Boyce, *Hist* I, 165.

¹² On the two meanings given to the words *Srōš Bāj*, viz. 'a *drōn*-service dedicated to Sraoša' and 'a prayer which incorporates the *šnūman* of Srōš', see Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 306, with nn. 59, 60. The word is here used in the latter sense.

¹³ Cf. Geldner, *Av* II, 36.

¹⁴ The *Pāzand* texts are transliterated here as they are given by Geldner, loc. cit.

awazār i sālār i dāmq i hōrməzd bē rasāt. əž hamā gunāh patit pašəmənōm. əž haravistin dušmat dužuxt dužvarəšt mən pa gāθi minit vaēm guft vaēm kard vaēm jast vaēm bun būt əstət, əž q gunāhihā manišnī gawəšni kunišni tanī rvəni gāθi mainyuqni ōxe awaxš pašəmā pa sə gawəšni pa patit hōm.

- 1 (lesser *šnūman*) *y.a.v.(5); a.v.(3); fravarāne... (Y.1.23); gāh; sraošahe ašyehe taxmahe tanumqθrahe darši.draoš āhūryehe xšnaoθra yasnaica vahmāica xšnaoθrāica frasastayaēca.*
(*wāj-gīrišnih*) *yaθā ahū vairyō zaotā frā mē mrūtē. aθā ratuš ašācič haca frā ašava viđvā mraotū.*
- 2 (greater *šnūman*) *sraošəm ašim huraoðəm vərəθrājanəm frādač gaēθəm ašavanəm ašahe ratūm yazamaide.*
(*Vend.11.3*) *ahunəm vairim tanūm pāiti. y.a.v.*
(*Y.46.7*) **kəmnā¹⁵ mazdā mavaitē pāyūm *dadā. hyač mā drəgvā didarəšatā aēnañhē. anyəm θwahmāt āθrascā manañhascā. yayā šyaoθanāiš ašəm θraoštā ahurā. tqm mōi dąstvqm daēnayāi frāvaocā.*
(*Y.44.16*) *kē vərəθrəm jā θwā pōi sānghā yōi hanti. ciθrā mōi dąm ahūm.biš ratūm ciždi. ač hōi vohū səraošō jantū manañhā. mazdā ahmāi yahmāi vaši kahmāicič.*
- 3 (*Vend. 8.21*) *pāta.nō tbišyantač pairi mazdāscā ārmaitišca spəntasca. nase daēvī druxš nase daēvō.ciθre nase daēvō.frakāršte nase daēvō.fradāiti. apa druxš nase apa druxš dvāra apa druxš vīnase apāxəðre apanasyehe mā mərəncainiš gaēθā astvaitiš ašahe.*
(*Y.49.10*) *nəmascā yā ārmaitiš ižācā.*
a.v.; y.a.v. (2).
- 4 *yasnəmca vahməmca aojasca zavarəca āfrināmi sraošahe ašyehe taxmahe tanumqθrahe darši.draoš āhūryehe. a.v.*
- 5 (*Y.68.11*) *ahmāi raēšca xʼarənasca. ahmāi tanvō drvatātəm. ahmāi tanvō vazdvarə. ahmāi tanvō vərəθrəm. ahmāi ištīm*

¹⁵ In rendering Y.46.7, I follow Humbach's readings and grammatical analysis (*Gathas* I, 130; II, 70). It seems inappropriate, in this context, to render Av. *mazdā-* as "Wisdom", or to translate the word *səraošō* in Y.44.16.

pouruš.xʼāθrəm. ahmāi āsnqmcič frazantīm. ahmāi darəyqm darəyō.jitīm. ahmāi vahištəm ahūm ašaonqm raocanham višpō.xʼāθrəm.

- aθa jamyāt yaθa āfrināmi. a.v.*
(*Y.72.9*) *hazañram baēšazanqm baēvarə baēšazanqm (3). a.v.(3).*
jasa.mē avanhe mazdā (3).
(*Sir.I.20-21*) *amahe hutāštahe huraoðahe vərəθraynahe ahuraðātahe vanaintyāasca uparatātō. rāmanasca xʼāstrahe vayaoš uparō.kairyehe taraðātō anyāiš dāmən. aētač tē vayō yač tē asti spəntō.mainyaom. θwāšahe xʼadātahe zrvānahe akaranahe zrvānahe darəyō.xʼadātahe. a.v.*
(*Kerfa mozd*) *kərba mazd gunāh guzārašni rā kunōm ašahi rvq dušārm rā ham kərbaī i hamā vahq i haft kəšwar zamī zamī pahanā rōč drānā xʼaršēt bālā bundahihā bē rasāt. ašō bēt dər zi.*
aθa jamyāt yaθa āfrināmi. a.v.

TRANSLATION:

- 0 (*Pāzand dībacā*) "In the name of God. May the bounteous miraculous power and glory of Ohrmazd the lord increase. May it (i.e. the prayer) reach Srōš, the righteous, the vigorous, whose body is the command, having a hard weapon, powerful of weapon, the lord of the creations of Ohrmazd. I expiate and repent of all sins. Every evil thought, evil word and evil deed (which) I have thought, spoken or done, which has befallen¹⁶ me or which has originated with me in the world, those sinfully (committed) thoughts, words and deeds of the body and of the soul, pertaining to this world or to the spiritual world, I expiate, penitent and repentant in conscience, with triple pronouncement.
- 1 *Y.a.v.(5); a.v.(3); Fravarāne; gāh; lesser šnūman of Srōš (= Y.57.1); wāj-gīrišnih (= Y.7.28).*
- 2 (*Gr. šn.*) We worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards. . . . (= Y.57.2).
(*Vend.11.3*) The *Ahuna Vairya* prayer protects the body. *y.a.v.*
(*Y.46.7*) Whom, now,¹⁵ dost Thou give to one like me as a protector, o Mazdā, when the unrighteous one wishes to capture me so as to harm me, other than Thy Fire and Thy Thought, through whose (gen. du.) actions one nourishes Righteousness, o Ahura? This knowledge¹⁷ proclaim to my consciousness.
- (*Y.44.16*) Who will break the resistance in order to protect those who are, in accordance with Thy teaching? Show me a judgement

¹⁶ On M/NP. *jastan.* (*jah-*), see Jürgen Hampel, *Die Kopenhagener Handschrift COD.* 27, Wiesbaden, 1974, 168-70.

¹⁷ For this translation of Av. *dąstvā-*, see Humbach, op. cit., I, 130; II, 70.

which will give me splendid things, o Healer of Existence. Then may Sraoša come with good Thought, o Mazdā, to him, whomever Thou dost wish.

- 3 (*Vend.8.21*) Protect us from the hostile one, o Mazdā and bounteous Ārmaiti. Vanish, demonic Fiend. Vanish, you of demonic origin. Vanish, demon-created one. Vanish, demon-produced one. Vanish away, Fiend, run away, Fiend. Vanish utterly; may you vanish to the north; you shall not destroy the corporeal world of Righteousness.
- (*Y.49.10*) And homage, with which (are combined) devotion and milk-offerings. *a.v.*; *y.a.v.*(2).
- 4 I desire worship and adoration and strength and force for Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, the brave, who has the Sacred Word for body, with bold club, the ahurian. *a.v.*
- 5 (*Y.68.11*) To him splendour and fortune; to him health of body; to him toughness of body; to him resistance of body; to him possessions bringing much happiness; to him sturdy offspring; to him lengthy long-life; to him the best existence of the righteous, the luminous, offering all happiness. Thus may it come as I wish. *a.v.*
- 6 (*Y.72.9*) A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies (3). *a.v.*(3). Come to my aid, o Mazdā (3).
- (*Sir.I.20-21*) To¹⁸ Power of Attack, well-built, fair of form, victorious, *ahura*-created; and to Triumphant Superiority; and to Rāman of good pastures, (and to) Vayu of superior activity, superior to the other creatures. That (part) of you, Vayu, which (part) of you belongs to the Bounteous Spirit; to self-governed Ōwāša, to boundless Zurwan, to Zurwan of the long dominion. *a.v.*
- (*Kerfa Mozd*) For the reward of virtue and the forgiveness of sin, I do (deeds of) righteousness for the love of my soul. May all¹⁹ virtuousness of all good ones of the earth of seven climes reach the width of the earth, the length of the rivers, the height of the sun in their original form(?).²⁰ May it be righteous, live long. Thus may it come as I wish. *a.v.*"

Of these prayers, *kāmnā mazdā + kē varəθrām jā* and *pāta.nō tbišyantaŋ* are mentioned together in *Vend.8.19-21*, where it is said that they should be recited by a priest in order to purify a road along which the corpse of a man or dog has passed, in case no 'four-eyed' dog (i.e. a dog with two spots over

¹⁸ The genitives of the lesser *šnūmans* are taken to indicate dedications, and are therefore rendered by "to".

¹⁹ Taking *ham* in the Pāzand text to be a mutilated form of *hamā* "all". An interpretation of the form as *ham* "also, the same" seems to yield poor sense.

²⁰ The translation of Pāz. *bundahihā* as "in their original form" is tentative.

the eyes, whose gaze was felt to have special powers) is available for the purpose of purification.

The five *y.a.v.*, *ahunəm vairīm tanūm pāiti, kāmnā mazdā + kē varəθrām jā* occur together in *Vend.11.3*, as a general formula for purification.

The fact that these prayers, which form part of the *Srōš Bāj* in its present form, are mentioned in the *Vendidad* as two groups of texts, both of which include *kāmnā mazdā + kē varəθrām jā*, seems to reflect an early stage in the development of this *Bāj*.

There is no explicit reference to Sraoša in either *Vendidad* passage. The fact that the prayers are to be recited in order to remove pollution, however, — i.e. in the very circumstances where, in later Zoroastrianism at least, *Srōš* would be invoked—suggests that a special connection between prayers and divinity may already have been felt or alternatively, that such a link could easily have developed at a later period. Moreover, the structure of the *kāmnā mazdā + kē varəθrām jā* prayer itself may have suggested that this prayer as a whole refers to Sraoša: the two Gathic passages are combined in such a way that the initial and middle parts of the prayer ask for a protector who "will break the resistance", whereas it ends with the statement "then may Sraoša come . . . to him, whomever Thou dost wish". Seen apart from their original context, these passages may have been understood to imply that Sraoša himself is the protector and resistance-breaker referred to, a role which would accord admirably with his functions as described in later sources.

The *Srōš Bāj*, also called *bāj-e nasrošt*²¹ or "formula against pollution", plays so central a role in Zoroastrian observances that until recently it was one of the few prayers which a child was expected to know by heart before it was invested with the sacred cord (*kustī*).²² It is one of the obligatory prayers (*farḏiyāt*) which should ideally be said in every period of the day (*gāh*)²³ and which are recited by priests before they perform any ritual.²⁴

As Boyce and Kotwal²⁵ have remarked, the *Srōš Bāj* is frequently recited for protection. Thus it is used as a 'framing *bāj*' for the disposal of hair and nails.²⁶ Priests can take the *bāj* of *Srōš* in order to protect their ritual purity when they take a bath in their own homes.²⁷ On rising in the morning, after *kustī bastan* (i.e. untying and retying the sacred cord), believers are to recite

²¹ Cf. Modi, *Farz*, text, p. 3, l. 9, and Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 175, who has *Vāj-i Nashrush* (for *nasrush*, cf. p. 655).

²² Cf. Modi, *RCC*, 13, 191 (for the Pārsis); Boyce, *Stronghold*, 236 (for the Irānis).

²³ Cf. Menant, *Les Parsis*, 197 n. 2.

²⁴ F. M. Kotwal and J. W. Boyd "The Zoroastrian *paragnā*-ritual", *JMiS* II.1, 1977, 44 n. 4.

²⁵ Art. cit., 306.

²⁶ For a further description of this ritual, cf. *Phl.Vend.17.6-8*; Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 250; Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 309.

²⁷ Cf. Modi, *RCC*, 375; Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 310.

the *Srōš Bāj* and wash, first with *gōmēz*, then with water,²⁸ so as to discard the impurities of the night. The prayer is also known therefore as *avestā-ye dast o rūy šūyīn* "the Avesta for washing the hands and face".²⁹

The *Srōš Bāj* also "frames" the recitation of the Confession of sins (*Patēt*), when evil is spoken of.³⁰

The two hymns to Sraoša can also be used as daily prayers. The *Srōš Yašt sar-e šab* (Y.57; lit. "hymn to Sraoša for the beginning of night"), is also recited before going to sleep,³¹ so that sleep is protectively surrounded by prayers to Srōš. According to the *Rivāyat* of Kama Bohra³² and the *Fardiyāt-nāma*,³³ the *Srōš Yašt Hādōxt* (Y.11) should be recited in the Hāwan, Uzērin, Ēbsrūrim and Ušahin *gāhs*. Neither text mentions this *Yašt* in connection with the Rapihwin-*gāh*, possibly because this period, when the powers of light are most clearly in control, was held to be the opposite of Srōš's own Ušahin-*gāh*, when his protection is most needed and when the merit of prayer is said to be greatest.³⁴

The recitation of these prayers can also form part of more complex rituals, and will be mentioned below in connection with these.

3. There is probably no occasion when the forces of evil and pollution manifest themselves so uncompromisingly, and have to be confronted so directly, as the death of a believer. As was seen in the previous chapter, the first three days and nights after death are placed entirely under the guardianship of Srōš, and during this period all rites are dedicated to him.³⁵

In his discussion of funerary ceremonies, Modi³⁶ distinguishes between rituals for the disposal of the body, and ceremonies performed for the benefit

²⁸ Minor variations occur in the descriptions of this observance. Dabhar (op. cit., 162 n. 2; 299 n. 2) says that the *Srōš Bāj* is recited after washing the hands and face. Modi (*Farz*, trsl., 5 n. 1) states that the *gōmēz* is applied during the recitation of the five *y.a.v.* of the *Srōš Bāj*. According to Boyce and Kotwal (art. cit., 311), the *bāj* is taken before one washes with *gōmēz* and water, and left when this is completed. Instead of the single recitation of the *Bāj* which is the common practice at present (cf. Modi, *Farz*, trsl., 6 n. 3), older sources mention two (Modi, *ibid.*) or even three repetitions of the *Srōš Bāj* in the morning (Anquetil Duperron *apud* Menant, *Les Parsis*, 81; Dhabhar, op. cit., 299).

²⁹ Cf. Dhabhar, loc. cit..

³⁰ Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 307.

³¹ Cf. e.g. *Sad-dar Bondahēš*, Ch. 58 (text: Dhabhar, *SadNB*, 131; trsl.: Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 546). See further Modi, *RCC*, 78.

³² See Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 299.

³³ Ed. Modi, text, 3 ff.; trsl. 4 ff.

³⁴ Dhabhar, loc. cit..

³⁵ Cf. *DD.XXVII.6* (above, p. 109) and pp. 133-4.

³⁶ *RCC*, 51. As the Zoroastrian funerary rituals have been described in detail by various authors (e.g. Modi, *ibid.*, 51-86, 434-44), they will be briefly summed up here only insofar as they have a direct bearing on Sraoša's role in the ritual.

of the soul. The latter are also referred to as 'Srōš-ceremonies' (Guj. *Sarōš-nī kriyā*).³⁷

The first aim of the former is plainly to remove what has become a source of pollution while protecting the world of righteousness. From the moment when the body is considered to have become 'putrefying matter' (*nasā*),³⁸ every action which involves a dangerous degree of contact with it is framed by the *Srōš Bāj*: this *bāj* is taken by those who shroud and lay out the body,³⁹ by the priests who perform the *gēh-sārānā* ceremony, by the corpse-bearers⁴⁰ and, finally, by the mourners who accompany the bier to the Tower of Silence (*daxma*).⁴¹ When the body has been placed in the Tower, all present leave the *bāj*, say a short prayer⁴² and wash with *gōmēz* and water.

At the time of the disposal of the body,⁴³ the corpse-bearers (*nasā-sālārs*) also recite the *Dastūri*, a formula which claims authority ultimately from Ohrmazd, then from the Amahraspandān, Srōš, Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān (or Zarathustra himself⁴⁴), and lastly from the *Dastūr* of the age, thus aptly placing Srōš in the middle between two divine and two human 'bearers of authority'.

Although, as Boyce⁴⁵ has remarked, an elaborate ritual for the support and protection of the soul appears to accord ill with Zarathustra's teaching of the individual's responsibility for his own salvation, such rites seem to have survived from pre-Zoroastrian times,⁴⁶ and have developed into a complex system of rituals, observance of which was counted in the *Nirangestān*⁴⁷ among the essential duties of a Zoroastrian.

The ceremonies which are considered absolutely necessary⁴⁸—and which may therefore be older, as part of the ritual for the soul, than other observances⁴⁹—are a *Yasna* of Srōš during the Hāwan-*gāh*, an *Āfrinagān* of Srōš in the Ēbsrūrim-*gāh* (i.e. the watch belonging to the *fravašis*), a communal service in which prayers are recited (called *Yašt-e sevvom* in Iran

³⁷ Cf. Modi, op. cit., 434.

³⁸ *ibid.*, 55.

³⁹ *ibid.*, 55 ff. Modi, *Farz*, trsl. 49.

⁴⁰ Modi, *RCC*, 64.

⁴¹ Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 308.

⁴² Modi, op. cit., 69.

⁴³ According to Modi (op. cit., 64), the corpse-bearers recite the *Dastūri* after taking the *bāj* of Srōš on entering the house where the body is laid out. Dhabhar (*RivHor*, 110 with n. 7) says that they recite it after placing the body in the *daxma*.

⁴⁴ For a translation of the different versions of this prayer see Dhabhar, op. cit., 110-1. For the Pāzand text see Antia, *Pāzand Texts*, 202, 338.

⁴⁵ *Hist* I, 328.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Ed. Bulsara, *Nir*ⁱⁱ, II, App. B, 15, p. 155.

⁴⁸ Cf. Modi, op. cit., 436.

⁴⁹ So Boyce, op. cit., 329.

and *Ūthamnā* in India),⁵⁰ and in the *Ušahin-gāh* of the third night, just before the departure of the soul, the performance of *drōn*-services for Rašn-Aštād, the *Yazads* of Justice, for good Wāy, lord of the air through which the soul moves on its way to the Cinwad-bridge, for the *fravašis* of the righteous and, according to most sources, for Srōš.⁵¹

To these essential observances, others can be added: one to three *Vendidāds* can be performed in the *Ušahin-gāh*; *drōn*-services⁵² for Srōš in every *gāh*; recitation of *Srōš Bāj* and *gāh*-prayers in each *gāh*, of *Mihr* + *Xwaršēd Niyāyišn* and *Patēt* (i.e. the confession of sin) in the daylight watches, of *Srōš Yašt sar-e šab* (Y.57) and *Patēt* in the *Ēbsrūrim-gāh*, and of *Māh Niyāyišn*, *Srōš Yašt Hādōxt* (Yt.11) and *Patēt* in the *Ušahin-gāh*.⁵³

On the fourth, tenth and thirtieth day after a death, on the proper day of the month during the first year, on the day before the anniversary and on the anniversary itself, further ceremonies are performed for the deceased. Most of these are dedicated to the *fravašis* of the righteous, to the *dahmān* or "virtuous persons", to the thirty *Yazads* of the month (*Sirūza*) or to Srōš.⁵⁴

4. The *Āfrinagān* liturgy which is recited for Sraoša during the first three days after death and in subsequent services for the benefit of the soul,⁵⁵ differs from other *Āfrinagāns* of Srōš on a number of points. In this liturgy, also known as the 'karda of Srōš' (Guj. *sarōš-no kardo*),⁵⁶ the Avestan *karda* which is recited is Y.57.15-18 (*yō vananō*...),⁵⁷ which emphasizes Sraoša's role as a vanquisher of evil, whereas in the 'regular' *Āfrinagān*-service to Srōš, the first three *kardas* of the greater *Srōš Yašt* (Y.57.2-8: *yō paoiryō mazdā dāman*...) are recited, which celebrate Srōš chiefly in his priestly aspects.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ On the *Yašt-e sevvom* see Boyce, *Stronghold*, 153 ff.; on the *Ūthamnā* see Modi, op. cit., 438 ff. On a discrepancy between the Parsi/Kermāni (i.e. eastern) and the Yazdī (i.e. western) traditions in this respect see Boyce, op. cit., 153 n. 31.

⁵¹ No mention is made of a *drōn* of Srōš, however, in *SupplŠnŠ.XVII* (ed. Kotwal), *DD.XXI.2* (ed. TDA), *RivĀd.CXXXVIII.2* (ed. BTA), or *SadN.87.2* (ed. Dhabhar). Kotwal's explanation (*SupplŠnŠ.XVII.4* n. 4) that a *drōn* of Srōš has been assumed without mention seems strange, as the only point of enumerating these services, (which must have been familiar to every priest), can have been, one would assume, to give a complete account of this ritual. Dhabhar (*RivHor*, 170 n. 3) says that when the whole ceremonial of Srōš has been performed during the three days and nights, only the three *drōns* need be consecrated, otherwise the *drōn* of Srōš must be added. At present, in any case, the *drōn* of Srōš is an integral part of this rite (cf. Modi, *RCC*, 436; Kotwal, loc. cit.).

⁵² *Drōn*-services dedicated to Sraoša are also referred to as *Srōš Bāj*, cf. Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 306 with n. 58.

⁵³ So Kotwal, *SupplŠnŠ.XVII*, n. 3, p. 109. Boyce (*Hist I*, 329 n. 12) says that the *Farwardin Yašt* is usually recited during the *Ēbsrūrim-gāh* of each of the three days.

⁵⁴ For a detailed survey of these ceremonies see Anquetil Duperron *apud* Menant, *Les Parsis*, 205, n. 1; Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 177-8.

⁵⁵ Cf. Menant, op. cit., 198, n. 3.

⁵⁶ Cf. Modi, op. cit., 436, 438.

⁵⁷ Cf. Modi, loc. cit., and below p. 168.

⁵⁸ Cf. Modi, op. cit., 386; *Nirangestān*, ed. Sanjana, 121v.3 ff.; trsl. Bulsara, p. 294 with n. 2.

As stated in two Phl. sources, no *āfrināmi* (*Āfr*.1.8-13; i.e. the invariable part of the liturgy which begins *āfrināmi xšaθrayāne daiñhu.paiti*)⁵⁹ is recited at the end of the 'karda of Srōš':

RivĀd.CXLIV, ...ud pad kamistih yašt-ē ud drōn-*ē ud az *im bē myazd
BTA, I,80. ud āfrinagān-ē ī Srōš kē-š kardag yō vananō; u-š
āfrināmi nē abāyēd pad kardag dādwar-barišnihā.

"and at least a *Yasna* and a *drōn*-service (are necessary during first three days) and apart from this a votive offering and an *Āfrinagān* of Srōš, for which the *karda* (is) *yō vananō*; and the *āfrināmi* is not necessary for it, in the *karda* (recited) when bringing (the soul) before the Judge."

Nir. Sanj., pad *stōših⁶⁰ ašəm vohū 3; fravarāne; cē gāh dārēd; u-š
122v.4 ff. šnūman sraošahe ašyehe, kardag yō vananō; u-š āfrina-
gān pad sar nēst, hād *ēd rāy cē xwadāy guft hān gyāg nē
*niwist⁶¹ ēstēnd.

"(the *Āfrinagān*) for the three days and nights after death: a.v.(3); *fravarāne*; whichever *gāh* it is; and the *šnūman* for it is *sraošahe ašyehe*, the *karda* (is) *yō vananō*; and it has no *Āfrinagān*-formulas⁶² at the end, namely for this reason that God said that they are not recited at that place."⁶³

The terms *āfrināmi* and *āfrinagān*, which appear to be interchangeable in this context,⁶² may denote any formulas besides *āfrināmi xšaθrayāne* which normally occurred at the end of *Āfrinagān*-liturgies. At present no *Pāzand Āfrin* is recited at the end of this service.⁶⁴

Both *Āfrinagān*-liturgies for Srōš begin with the characteristic five *y.a.v.* prayers.⁶⁵ The 'regular' *Āfrinagān* of Srōš can be recited at the end of most *Āfrinagān*-ceremonies, together with the *Āfrinagān* of *Dahmān*.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Cf. Geldner, *Av II*, 268-9 with n. 8.1; Modi, op. cit., 387.

⁶⁰ MS.: *stwtjyh*.

⁶¹ MS.: *wst*.

⁶² In this part of the *Nirangestān*, the terms *āfrināmi* and *āfrinagān* appear to be interchangeable: *u-š āfrinagān pad sar* (ed. Sanjana, 122r.3; 122v.4); *u-š āfrināmi pad sar* (ibid. 122r.13-14). Cf. also the previous passage where *āfrināmi* is used in the same context as *āfrinagān* here.

⁶³ Bulsara's complicated translation and explanation of this passage (loc. cit., 298-9, with nn. 6, 1, 2, 3, 4) are incomprehensible to me.

⁶⁴ Cf. Menant, loc. cit., 198 n. 3; Modi, op. cit., 387.

⁶⁵ Cf. Bulsara, op. cit., 298 n. 4; Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 306 n. 62, and above, p. 146f. Perhaps the number five was especially associated with Sraoša, *Yazad* of prayer, because prayers were said five times a day, during each of the five *gāhs*.

⁶⁶ The *Āfrinagān* of *Dahmān* is not to be recited on the five *Gāthā*-days (cf. Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 313). According to one *Rivāyat* passage (ibid., 318), the *Āfrinagān* of Srōš should not be recited on the fourth, tenth and thirtieth day after death, or after the *Āfrinagān* services of *Nō*

5. The liturgy of the *drōn*-service (i.e. Y.3-8, with a few other texts)⁶⁷ is sometimes called *Srōš-drōn*,⁶⁸ a term also used for the consecrated bread (*drōn*) itself.⁶⁹ The consecration of the *drōn* must therefore presumably have been strongly associated with Sraoša, possibly, as Boyce and Kotwal⁷⁰ suggest, because this service was so often dedicated to Sraoša: as mentioned earlier, a *drōn*-service for Srōš is to be performed in every *gāh* of the three nights and days after death, and a *Bāj* (i.e. *drōn*-service) of Srōš generally concludes ceremonies in which several *Bājs* are performed,⁷¹ just as the *Āfrinagān* of Srōš can be performed at the end of *Āfrinagān*-ceremonies.

The *Bāj* of Srōš differs from other such services in that six *drōns* are consecrated instead of the usual four, and the ritual tasting (*cāšnīh*) is made seven times instead of five.⁷² The custom that the offerings made in the *Bāj* of Srōš are given to the priest after the ceremony, as part of his *ašōdād* ("fee"),⁷³ could be taken to reflect the special link Srōš was felt to have with the priesthood.

A recitation of the *drōn*-liturgy with the *šnūman* of Srōš, without *barsam* or ritual, is prescribed in older texts⁷⁴ for women in menses; later, women did not pray at such times (they were then called *bī-namāz* "without prayer").

6. Another ceremony which can be performed for Sraoša during the first three nights after death is the *Vendidād*. As suggested by the character of the text after which the ceremony is named—and which constitutes part of its liturgy⁷⁵—the function of this service appears to be primarily the defence against, and defeat of the powers of darkness, evil and corruption. In the *Sad-dar Bondaheš*, the *Vendidād*-ceremony is said to remove the sins by which men inevitably become defiled in this world of Mixture:

Nāwar, which are recited for four days when a new *herbad* (priest) is initiated (cf. below, p. 159). Another *Rivāyat* passage (ibid. 420), however, agrees with Modi (op. cit., 206) in listing a *Yasna*, *Drōn* and *Āfrinagān* of Srōš on the second day as a regular part of the rites of initiation.

⁶⁷ For the exact sequence of the texts as used in the *drōn*-services, see Geldner, *GIP* II (ed. Geiger-Kuhn), 9 with n. 9; Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 64 with n. 48.

⁶⁸ Cf. Darmesteter, *ZA* v I, 49 with n. 1. Darmesteter (ibid., 184) also gives this heading at the beginning of Y.23, which is part of the usual liturgy of the *Bāj*. The *Riv. Kāmdīn Šāpūr* (see Dhabhar, op. cit., 340), however, explicitly forbids the recitation of Y.23 and Y.26 in the liturgy of the *Bājs* of Srōš, Ohrmazd Xwadāy, Hōm, and Dēn-Mānsar, or in any *Bāj* celebrated at night.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Nirangestān*, ed. Sanjana, 69r.11 ff.: *Srōš drōn pad hamāg yazīšn pādīxšāy xwardan, bē pad*..... "it is authorized to eat the *Srōš drōn* at all *Yasna*-services, except.....". Cf. also Dhabhar, op. cit., 366, 411; Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 64 n. 48.

⁷⁰ Art. cit., 69.

⁷¹ Modi, op. cit., 363.

⁷² ibid.

⁷³ ibid.

⁷⁴ *Phl. Vend.* 16.7; *ŠnŠ* III.35, ed. Tavadia, 83.

⁷⁵ For a survey of the texts which constitute the liturgy of the *Vendidād* ceremony, see Modi, op. cit., 351-3. Note, moreover, that the *Vendidād* ceremony was probably instituted in the post-Islamic era (cf. Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 156).

*SadB.*47⁷⁶

*be Dīn andar gūyad Vendidād yaštan sabab-e gonāh-
*vejāreš⁷⁷ cegūna bāšad? Bedānand ke mardomān tā dar
in gītī bāšand bī-gonāh natavānand būdan va del va maneš-e
pāk natavānand dāštan. Pas bāyad ke har vaqt Vendidādi
farmāyand yaštan tā ān gonāhi ke az dast va zabān
beyāmada bāšad vayā dar Amšasfandi jasta bāšad yā dar
āb va āteš va zamīn va bohtān va dorūy va har-ce az in
ma'nī bāšad, ān kerfa talāfi-ye gonāh bāšad.*

"He says in the Religion: how is the celebration of the *Vendidād* the cause of the expiation⁷⁷ of sin? Let them know that men, as long as they are in this world, cannot be without sin and cannot have pure hearts and minds. Therefore they must order a *Vendidād* to be performed every time so that, as regards the sin which has come from hand or tongue, or has occurred against a Bounteous Immortal, or against water, fire or earth, or (consists of) slander and lies, and whatever is in this sense—that good deed (i.e. the *Vendidād*) may be an expiation of the sin."

According to the *Farḏiyāt-nāma*,⁷⁸ one must celebrate the *Vendidād*, accompanied by a *Yasna*, *Bāj* (i.e. *drōn*-service) and *Āfrinagān* of the thirty-three *Yazads*, in order to expiate any sin one may have committed against one of these: *agar xod Vendidād-aš yašta bāšad*,⁷⁹ *negahbān-aš sū-ye 'afv-aš šetābad* "if he has indeed celebrated the *Vendidād*, his guardian hastens to pardon him."⁸⁰

A clear parallel thus exists between the function of the *Vendidād* ceremony, a high ritual which has the potency to vanquish the forces of evil without becoming defiled by them, and the role of Srōš as defined earlier in this chapter. In practice, the existence of a link between ceremony and *Yazad* is indicated by the fact that the *Vendidād* can only be performed in Srōš's own *Ušahin-gāh*.⁸¹

7. The *Vendidād* of Srōš is also performed for the consecration of the sacred bull's urine, the *nirang*. Characteristically, for the consecration of a substance whose properties resemble Srōš's own (cf. above, p. 145), the

⁷⁶ Ed. Dhabhar, 119.

⁷⁷ The word **vejāreš* appears to be a pseudo-historical reconstruction from NP. *gozāreš*; the MP. is *widārišn*.

⁷⁸ Ed. Modi, trsl., 19 ff; text, 10 ff.

⁷⁹ The curious grammar of this line appears to be an imitation of Pahlavi, though metrical considerations have no doubt played a part, too.

⁸⁰ Lit. "hastens towards his forgiveness".

⁸¹ Cf. Modi, op. cit., 351.

dedication to Srōš is obligatory.⁸² Consecration takes place by two priests who have undergone *barešnum* (cf. below), obtained the greater *Khūb* (i.e. who have performed the *Yasna* of *Minō Nāwar*),⁸³ and have become *hamkalām*, i.e. equal in ritual efficacy through the performance of the *gewrā*-ceremony.⁸⁴

8. Consecrated by priests who hold the *barešnum*, the *nīrang* and also the unconsecrated urine, *gōmēz*, play a central role in the *barešnum*-ceremony, the most potent rite for removing pollution.⁸⁵ According to the commentator Āfarg, those who are to administer *barešnum* must have performed the *Vendidad* of Srōš: *Wendidād-ē pad ēd kār pad šnūman ī Srōš bē yazīšn* "for this work (i.e. administering *barešnum*) one must celebrate one *Vendidad* with the dedication of Srōš" (*Phl. Vend.* 9.32).

Before the actual ceremony begins, the *barešnum-gāh* (i.e. the place where the *barešnum* is administered) must be prepared, and the necessary furrows drawn.⁸⁶ For this, the priest recites *Dastūri*⁸⁷ and takes the *bāj* of Srōš, which he leaves when the work is finished⁸⁸ and the *barešnum-gāh* has been made into a place where the removal of defilement can safely take place.

The candidate, having drunk a little *nīrang* and chewed a pomegranate leaf, for which he takes the *bāj* of *iθā*,⁸⁹ then takes the *bāj* of Srōš, which he does not leave until the rite is over.⁹⁰ The priest again⁹¹ takes the *bāj* of Srōš before he administers the purifying substances, viz. *gōmēz*, then sand, then pure water, eighteen times each, so that the transition from impure to pure is made even more indirectly than on other occasions,⁹² with sand interposed between the 'potent' *gōmēz* and the pure water.

For each of the ablutions of the *nō-šwa*, the "nine nights' retreat" which follows the *barešnum*, the *bāj* of Srōš is likewise taken,⁹³ partly, as Boyce and

⁸² Cf. Dhabhar, op. cit., 408.

⁸³ Cf. Modi, loc. cit., 256, 147, 362.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, 256. On the *gewrā*, a ceremony lasting six days in which two priests perform a *Yasna* each day, acting as chief officiating priest (*zōt*) on alternate days, see Modi, op. cit., 202-3.

⁸⁵ For an elaborate description of the rite as a whole see Modi, *ibid.*, 102 ff.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 127 ff.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 128; cf. above, p. 151.

⁸⁸ So Modi, *ibid.*, 129; Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 310. According to *Phl. Vend.* 9.32, the priest can keep the *bāj* for the ensuing work of purification: *ud ka az kēš-kešīšnīh wāj dārēd šāyēd, ka nē ā-š wāj frāz girišn* "and when he retains the *bāj* from drawing the furrows, it is proper; if not, then he must take the *bāj*".

⁸⁹ I.e. *Y. S. 1* (= *Y. 37.1*), which is used as a *bāj* for eating, cf. Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 303, 310.

⁹⁰ Dhabhar, op. cit., 378-9; Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 310.

⁹¹ But cf. n. 88.

⁹² Cf. above, p. 145.

⁹³ Cf. Boyce and Kotwal, loc. cit.

Kotwal⁹⁴ suggest, because at those times not only the clothes but also the *kustī* is laid aside, and special protection is therefore necessary.

9. The building and consecration of a Tower of Silence (*daxma*), which is to be constantly exposed to contaminating influences, is largely carried out under protection of Srōš.

In India, before the building begins, a *Yasna*⁹⁵ is celebrated, followed by five⁹⁶ *drōn*-ceremonies dedicated to Srōš, Ohrmazd, Spandarmad, Ardāfravaš (i.e. the *fravašis* of the righteous) and to the Seven Bounteous Immortals. (Characteristically, in a ceremony so immediately concerned with relegating evil to its proper place, the *drōn*-service of Srōš precedes that of Ohrmazd.) The priest who acts as *Zōt* then takes a spade and, taking the *bāj* of Srōš, digs a part of the ground, after which he leaves the *bāj*.

In the *Tānā*-ceremony, too, in which the ground on which the *daxma* will stand is marked with nails and thread,⁹⁷ the two priests who perform the ceremony take the *bāj* of Srōš.

When the Tower is completed, the *RivHor.* (ed. Dhabhar, p. 102) prescribes the celebration of one *Vendidad* of Srōš. The instructions in the *Pāzand Rivāyat*:⁹⁸ *pas pə myāna ī daxma nišastan; sē juṭ-dēw-dāt ī Srōš yaštan pə ašəm vohū saṭ guštan*, "then sit in the middle of the Tower; celebrate three *Vendidads* with recitation of 100 *ašəm vohūs*", is closer to the present Indian practice. There, during the first three days of the consecration, two priests perform a *Yasna* and *Vendidad* of Srōš each day;⁹⁹ on the fourth day, a *Yasna* is celebrated for Ohrmazd, together with *drōn*-ceremonies and *Āfrinagāns* dedicated to Ohrmazd, Ardāfravaš, Spandarmad and Srōš.¹⁰⁰ It seems that the observances dedicated to Srōš of the first three days free the *daxma* from all associations with evil, so that the *Yasna* with accompanying *drōn* and *Āfrinagān*-services can be properly dedicated to Ohrmazd on the fourth day.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*

⁹⁵ So Boyce and Kotwal, art. cit., 307. There is no mention of a *Yasna* in either Modi, *RCC* (cf. p. 244) or Dhabhar, *RivHor.* (cf. p. 102). The authors of the first-mentioned article do not state to which *Yazad* the *Yasna* is dedicated.

⁹⁶ Cf. Modi, loc. cit.; Boyce and Kotwal, loc. cit. The *drōn*-service to the *Haft Amēšaspad* is not mentioned as part of this ceremony in the *RivHor.* (loc. cit.), which only mentions the other four. Unlike the four others, the *drōn*-service to the *Haft Amēšaspad* is not repeated after the consecration of the Tower. The fifth *drōn* may therefore be a relatively late addition to the ceremony.

⁹⁷ For a full description of this ceremony see Modi, op. cit., 245 ff.

⁹⁸ Cf. Antia, *Pazend Texts*, 222.

⁹⁹ Ceremonies for Srōš, even if not connected with the soul's sojourn on earth after death, tend to be held for three days and nights; cf. also *Vend.* 9.56, where ceremonies for Srōš during three days and nights are enjoined for undoing the evil effects of the presence of a heretical priest.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Modi, op. cit., 251, and above, n. 96.

10. As vice-regent of Ohrmazd in this world, Srōš is not only concerned with the restoration and defence of purity when it is defiled or threatened by the forces of pollution, but also with guarding and enhancing purity for its own sake, as a symbol and embodiment of goodness in the world of Mixture.¹⁰¹

In ritual terms, this is perhaps best illustrated by juxtaposing the ceremonies dedicated to Srōš at the consecration of a Tower of Silence to those performed for the consecration of an *Āteš Bahrām* (i.e. a 'Bahram-fire', a Sacred Fire of the highest category), perhaps the purest place to be found in the world.

During the lengthy process of collecting, purifying and consecrating the sixteen individual fires which will eventually be joined together to make up the Bahrām-fire,¹⁰² the *bāj* of Srōš is taken by the priests for the purification ceremonies.¹⁰³ In the consecration of the individual fires, Srōš plays no special role, merely receiving worship as one of the *Yazads* of the *Sirūza*.¹⁰⁴ After the unification of the fires, however, which must take place on the first Gāthā-day, a *Yasna* and *Vendidād* are dedicated to Srōš for three consecutive days.¹⁰⁵ These are followed by thirty *Yasna* + *Vendidād* ceremonies for the divinities of the *Sirūza*, from *rōz* Ohrmazd (i.e. the first day of the new year) to *rōz* Anagrān. Then, on the day of the final enthronement and consecration of the Bahrām-fire, another *Yasna* of Srōš is recited over the fire.¹⁰⁶

The chamber in which the fire is to be enthroned is likewise consecrated by the performance of *Yasna* and *Vendidād* ceremonies for Srōš during three consecutive days.

When the enthronement has taken place, an *Āteš Niyāyeš* (a 'prayer in praise of Fire', *Ny.4*) is prayed and *drōn*-services and *Āfrinagāns* are performed for Srōš, Dahmān, and again for Srōš.¹⁰⁷

The fact that the ceremonies for Srōš take place in the last phase of the consecration-rites, when the forces of evil have presumably been defeated through the preceding ritual, makes it unlikely that Srōš is worshipped here chiefly as a defender against evil. His association, in the final *drōn* and *Āfrinagān* services, with *Dahmān*, the personification of the faithful, suggests

¹⁰¹ Compare, in this context, the development of the function of the *barsnum*-ceremony (cf. Modi, op. cit., 103-7), which was originally a rite for removing pollution, but, in India, is now mostly administered to priests. (On *barsnum-e nō-šwa* in Iran see Boyce, *Stronghold*, 111 ff.).

¹⁰² For a description of the whole ritual see Modi, op. cit., 211-26.

¹⁰³ The *bāj* of Srōš is also taken by two Zoroastrian laymen when they collect a fire which has burnt a corpse, cf. Modi, op. cit., 213.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Modi, op. cit., 218 ff.

¹⁰⁵ For a slightly different account of the rites for consecration of the Bahrām-fire, see Dhabhar, op. cit., 66.

¹⁰⁶ Modi, op. cit., 225.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 107.

that he is invoked primarily as a guardian of what is pure and sacred in the world of man, as a mediator between the sphere of pure Good and its expression in this world, which is necessarily imperfect.

In the consecration of lower-grade fires, ceremonies for Srōš also play an important part.¹⁰⁸ In the case of an *Āteš Ādarān* (i.e. a Sacred Fire of the second grade), four vases containing fires from the houses of members of each of the traditional four classes (i.e. priests, warriors, husbandmen and artisans) are consecrated separately with the celebration of a *Yasna* + *Vendidād* for Srōš on the first day, and for Ohrmazd on the second. On the third day, the fires are united and the process of consecration is continued with the recitation of a *Namaskār* ("homage") to the fire,¹⁰⁹ followed by another *Yasna* + *Vendidād* of Srōš, and a *Yasna* for Ohrmazd the Creator on the morning of the fourth day. After the enthronement of the fire, the *Bāj* (i.e. *drōn*) and *Āfrinagān* services are either the same as for the enthronement of an *Āteš Bahrām* or, alternatively, six *Āfrinagāns*, with corresponding *Bāj*, for Urdwahišt, Ohrmazd, Spandarmad, Ardāfravaš, Dahmān and Srōš.

The consecration ceremony for a Sacred Fire of the lowest category (*Āteš-e Dādgāh*) consists of *Yasna* + *Vendidād* (3) for Srōš and a *Yasna* of Ardāfravaš on the fourth morning. The *Āfrinagān* and *Bāj* services are usually the six mentioned for the enthronement of an *Āteš Ādarān*.

11. The parallelism between the functions of Srōš and those of priests has been discussed in the preceding chapter. Both are, in a sense, mediators between God and Man, Heaven and Earth—the priest invoking the *Yazads* on behalf of Man, Srōš moving to the earth as a representative of the Divine. That Srōš is worshipped during the initiation-ceremonies for the priesthood therefore needs no further explanation.

The order of the services performed by the candidate in the first of these, the *Nāwar*-ceremony, can be interpreted as symbolizing the respective places of priest and divinities in the spiritual hierarchy: a *Yasna* with *Bāj* and *Āfrinagān* is performed for *Mīnō Nāwar* ("the spiritual priest", also called *Nō Nāwar*, "the new priest") on the first day of initiation, for Srōš on the second, for the thirty *Yazads* of the month on the third, and on the fourth day the candidate recites the *Yasna* + *Vispered*, with accompanying *Bāj* and *Āfrinagān*, for Ohrmazd.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ For a detailed description of these ceremonies, see Modi, op. cit., 239-43.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Modi, *ibid.*, 241 with n. 1.

¹¹⁰ Before the initiation proper, the candidate has to undergo *barsnum* + *nō-šwa* twice, and the priests who are to initiate him take the *gewrā* for six days. A description of the ceremony is given by Modi, op. cit., 199-207. The *RivHor.* (ed. Dhabhar, 420) states that an *Āfrinagān* of Dahmān should be performed on the third day of the initiation, and that all ceremonies of the fourth day should have the dedication of *Nō Nāwar*. Dhabhar (*ibid.*, n. 3) points out that "properly speaking" the ritual should be carried out as described by Modi.

For the higher priestly qualification, the *Mariab* or *Marātib*, the candidate must read the *Vendidād*. After a *baresnum* + *nō-šwa* and a *Yasna* of *Minō Nāwar*, he performs a *Yasna* + *Vendidād* of *Srōš* on the last day of this initiation.¹¹¹

12. In the ritual, the role of defender and restorer of purity, i.e. of the faultless observance of the ritual, used to devolve on the *Sraošāvarəz*, whose name is connected with *Srōš*'s own.¹¹² That a link continued to be felt is indicated by the word-play in *Vend*.18.14, where the cock is said to be *Sraoša*'s *Sraošāvarəz* (*sraošahe ašyehe sraošāvarəzō*), and by the fact that, according to the *Nirangestān*,¹¹³ the *Srōšāwarz* must stand up when the *Zōt* recites the hymn¹¹⁴ to *Sraoša* (*ka zōt Srōš srūd srōšāwarz ul ō pāy ēstēd*). The position of the *Srōšāwarz* during the *Yasna*—viz. opposite the chief officiating priest (*Zōt*), with the other six priests (the *upasraotars*) on either side of them¹¹⁵—offers a striking parallel to the *Bundahišn*¹¹⁶ description of *Srōš*'s place in front of *Ohrmazd*, with the six *Amahraspandān* to their right and left. In the preceding chapter,¹¹⁷ the latter passage was taken to symbolize the fact that *Srōš* is closely associated with, yet apart from the *Amahraspandān*. Similarly, the *Sraošāvarəz* was a member of the team of priests who performed the high rituals yet, as *Bulsara*¹¹⁸ points out, he is not one of the *upasraotars*, i.e. the priests "die beim Gottesdienst den (*Gāthā*-) Vortrag des *Zaotar*, soweit vorgeschrieben, nachbeten oder responsorisch ergänzen".¹¹⁹ *Bartholomae*¹²⁰ calls the *Sraošāvarəz* "der siebente und geringste" of the priests, yet the task of supervising the ritual and punishing those who commit errors (thus maintaining or restoring the integrity of the rite), lent him an authority all his own.

The functions of the *Srōšāwarz* are described in the *Nirangestān*:¹²¹ *sraošāvarəzō aiwyāxšayāt*. . . . *srōših hān srōšāwarz abar nigāh ē dārēd*; *kū harw kē andar yazišn frōdmāndagih kunēd ā-š pādīfrāh *warzēd*¹²² "May the *Sraošāvarəz* supervise. . . . may the *Srōšāwarz* keep watch over obedience (in

¹¹¹ Cf. *Modi*, op. cit., 207-9.

¹¹² Cf. *Bartholomae*, *AirWb*, 1636, and below, p. 175.

¹¹³ Ed. *Sanjana*, 34r.3ff.; translation *Bulsara*, *Nir*, p. 75.

¹¹⁴ So, plausibly, *Bulsara*, loc. cit.

¹¹⁵ So *Modi*, op. cit., 337. But cf. *Nir*, trsl. *Bulsara*, p. 109, where six assisting priests are mentioned instead of seven, three to each side of the *Zōt*.

¹¹⁶ *GBd*.XXVI.8, cf. above, p. 114.

¹¹⁷ *ibid*.

¹¹⁸ Op. cit., 70 n. 4.

¹¹⁹ *Bartholomae*, *AirWb*, 397.

¹²⁰ *ibid*, 1636.

¹²¹ Ed. *Sanjana*, 156v.3ff.; trsl. *Bulsara*, p. 304.

¹²² MS. *gleyt*; for this emendation see *AirWb*, 1636 s.v. *sraošāvarəz*-, nn. 2, 5.

ritual matters);¹²³ that is, anyone who commits a shortcoming in the worship, him he will punish,"¹²⁴

The *Srōšāwarz*'s independent authority in such matters is illustrated by *Vend*.5.26: *aoxtō ratuš, aoxtō sraošāvarəzō*. . . . *xšayeite hē pascaēta aēša yō ratuš θrišum aētahe ciθā apanharšīāē* "the Master (*Ratu*), when invoked, the *Sraošāvarəz*, when invoked, . . . that Master can remit for him a third of the punishment for that". In connection with a woman who must drink in order to save her life, in circumstances where this would ordinarily be forbidden, it is said that this is allowed, but that: *āat vō yūžəm yōi mazdayasna ciθqm frāθwərəsaēta. aoxtō ratuš aoxtō sraošāvarəzō ciθqm frāθwərəsaiti*, "then you, the *Mazdā*-worshippers, shall set a penalty; the Master (*Ratu*), when invoked, the *Sraošāvarəz*, when invoked, sets the penalty" (*Vend*.7.71).

As a symbol of his authority to punish offenders, the *Sraošāvarəz* held in his hand a weapon,¹²⁵ just as *Sraoša* holds a "sharp-edged weapon" against the heads of the *daēvas* (*Y*.57.31).

Thus, while the *Sraošāvarəz* did not have the same status as the *upasraotars*, he possessed a special effectiveness in dealing with manifestations of imperfection and evil. A clear parallel thus exists with the functions of *Sraoša* as described above.

13. As lord of this world, *Srōš* supervises the devotional life of a Zoroastrian. This is illustrated by a verse from the *Fardiyātnāma*:¹²⁶ *ke jomla pāya-ye Dīn-e Behi-rā seporda bar Soruš ān pāk-e yek-tā*, "for the whole foundation of the Religion of Goodness that pure One has entrusted to *Srōš*", and by the fact that it is said in the same text¹²⁷ that believers must perform a *Yasna* and *Vendidād* for *Srōš* on reaching maturity, as the benefit of their meritorious deeds will not accrue to their souls otherwise. *Srōš*'s role in the religious life of the individual is also reflected by the fact that he is invoked at the consecration of the *kusti*, the sacred cord which symbolizes one's adherence to the faith, and which possesses great protective powers. For the consecration of the *kusti*, the priest takes the *bāj* of *Srōš*, and when he has cut it he recites the *Pāzand šnūman* of *Srōš*. After this he leaves the *bāj*.¹²⁸

¹²³ Cf. the remarks on *asrōših* and *srōšdārih*, above, p. 123f.

¹²⁴ *Bulsara* (loc. cit. with n. 6) reads the last word as *garzēd*, and translates: ". . . shall confess to him and shall implore him to prescribe the retribution therefore". The translation of the one verb as "shall confess" and "shall implore" at the same time seems improbable.

¹²⁵ For a description of a modern Irāni *Srōšāwarz* and his whip-chain see *Boyce*, *Stronghold*, 43.

¹²⁶ Ed. *Modi*, text, p. 9.

¹²⁷ *ibid*, text, p. 5; trsl., p. 9.

¹²⁸ Cf. *Modi*, *RCC*, 184-5.

Another ceremony in which Srōš is invoked is the *Giti-xarid* (lit. "purchase of the world"), consisting of rituals which also occur in the more elaborate *Nāwar*-ceremony: a *gewrā*, followed by *Yasnas* dedicated to Srōš and the *Sirūza*, and finally a *Yasna* + *Vispered* in honour of Ohrmazd.¹²⁹ It is said in the *Fardiyāt-nāma* and the *Sad-dar Bondaheš*¹³⁰ that one's meritorious deeds will not reach Paradise unless one has had either a *Nāwar* or a *Giti-xarid* celebrated.

The *Zenda-ravān* (lit. "the living soul"), which consists of the same rites as are performed for the soul after death, is to be performed at least once on behalf of every believer, in case no proper funerary services will be held after his death. The rites of the first three days of this ceremony are naturally dedicated to Srōš.¹³¹

For the *Gāhāmbārs* (the six yearly festivals) and during the last ten days of the year, services can be held which include dedications to Srōš. For the *Pāvi* of the *Gāhāmbār*,¹³² three *dibācas* (i.e. the introductory part of the liturgy, stating to whom the service is dedicated, for whose benefit or memory it is performed, and who ordered it) are first recited separately with the *šnūmans* of *Gāhāmbār*, of the *Yazad* of the day, and of Srōš; a fourth recitation is then made of all three *dibācas* together. In her description of an Irani *Gāhāmbār*, Boyce¹³³ mentions "one recital of the Afrinagan-e Gahambar . . . followed by two of the Afrinagan-e Do Dahman, one karda of the Afrinagan-e Srōš, and finally the Afrin-e Gahambar".

The *Fravardiyān*-ceremony,¹³⁴ which is performed in honour of a dead person during the last ten days of the year, includes daily *Yasnas* of Srōš, combined each day with one *Yasna* dedicated to another *Yazad*. According to the *Vajarkard-e Dīnī*,¹³⁵ a *Yasna* of Srōš should be celebrated during the *panji-e keh*, the first five of the *Fravardegān*-days.

For the two kinds of *Hōmāst*-ceremony (i.e. the greater and the smaller, the greater consisting of the performance of 144 *Yasnas* and 144 *Vendīdād* ceremonies, the smaller of 144 *Yasnas* and 12 *Vendīdāds*),¹³⁶ twelve *Yazads* are invoked, most of whom have a connection with natural phenomena, the exceptions being Ohrmazd, Srōš and the *fravašis*. In two texts relating to these ceremonies,¹³⁷ Srōš appears to be denoted by the mysterious word *xwrdk g'h*

¹²⁹ Cf. Modi, *ibid.*, 433; on the *Nāwar* cf. *ibid.*, 205-6.

¹³⁰ *Farz*, text, pp. 6-7; trsl., pp. 10-11; *Sad-dar Bondaheš*, Ch. V, ed. Dhabhar, p. 5.

¹³¹ Cf. Modi, *op. cit.*, 444-6.

¹³² For a description of this ceremony and an explanation of its name see Modi, *ibid.*, 450-2.

¹³³ *Stronghold*, 35 n. 8.

¹³⁴ Cf. Modi, *op. cit.*, 478-9.

¹³⁵ *Apud* Modi, *op. cit.*, 472; cf. *ibid.*, 467 with n. 3. Note, however, that, as the *Vajarkard* is an acknowledged forgery, its evidence may not be reliable.

¹³⁶ On the *Hōmāst*-ceremonies see Modi, *op. cit.*, 431-3.

¹³⁷ *Viz.* the *Sad-dar Našr*, Ch. V, ed. Dhabhar, 32 (*xwrdk g'h*), and the *Sad-dar Nažm*, *apud* Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 219 (*xwrdh*).

or *xwrdh*, which Dhabhar¹³⁸ explains as corruptions of **xwarrah-xwadāy* "lord of Fortune". Srōš's presence in the *Hōmāst*-rituals is mentioned in the Pahlavi commentary to *Yt.11.18*.¹³⁹

As was seen in the preceding pages, Srōš has a central place in the ritual and daily observances of Zoroastrianism. He is invoked more frequently than any other *Yazad* except Ohrmazd himself.

It was argued above that Srōš's prominent place in the ritual may be due to his special concern for the protection and preservation of purity, and the removal of impurity in this world. While, in the ritual, Ohrmazd and the Amahraspandān are scrupulously guarded from contact or association with the forces of pollution, Srōš appears to possess special powers which enable him to confront manifestations of evil directly. These powers may well derive from his connection with the Sacred Word, which he embodies (being *tanu.mqθra-*) and which is said to serve him as a weapon (*Y.57.22*). Observances for protection and purification—which probably came to be increasingly numerous in the course of the history of the faith—are therefore dedicated to Srōš; he is also associated with purity as such, and thus with orthopraxy or 'religious obedience' (*srōših*).¹⁴⁰

It is probably because of Srōš's role as a protector and a representative of the forces of Good in the world of Mixture, combined with the increasing importance of the rituals over which he presides, that Srōš is described in the Pahlavi books as lord of this world.

The parallel with the two priestly functions with which Srōš is associated, those of the *sraošāvarəz* and the *dastwar*, is perhaps apt in this respect: the *sraošāvarəz*, whose name seems to indicate at least a relatively ancient link with Sraoša, embodies his function as a guardian of purity and a remover of impurity, whereas the *dastwar*, with whom Srōš is associated in later texts, has authority over the community as a whole, just as Srōš's jurisdiction is said to extend over the whole material world.

It seems likely that Sraoša's increased popularity was at least partly due to the deliberate efforts of the priesthood, who may have promoted the cult of Srōš as a means of increasing observances (and thus of raising their own incomes and status), a development which in turn appears to have resulted in a growing emphasis on orthopraxy in Zoroastrianism.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ *Loc. cit.*, 220 n. 1.

¹³⁹ Cf. above, *Yt.11* with n. 18.6. In one source, the *Riv.* of Bahman Punjya (*RivHor*, 219), Srōš is not included in the list of *Yazads* to be worshipped in this ceremony.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. the discussion of the terms *srōšdārīh* and *asrōših* above, p. 123 f.

¹⁴¹ See further below, pp. 168 f., 172, *et passim*.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE YAZATA SRAOŠA

The word *səraoša-* first appears in the *Gāthās*, where it occurs both as a common noun and as the proper name of the divinity. As was argued above (Ch. I), the word meant "hearkening (to the word of God)", and denoted the obedient frame of mind—or the divinity embodying it—which enables man to hearken to the divine word and which, on a practical level, finds expression in the intention of defeating the forces and adherents of evil.

Most scholars have assumed that *Sraoša* was first worshipped by Zarathustra. Some of the arguments advanced in favour of such a view were challenged, however, by Boyce.¹ Although there appears to be no firm evidence to show whether *Sraoša* was worshipped in pre-Zarathustrian times or not, it seems clear from our examination of the Gathic passages that the two distinctive elements which, according to Boyce, "link the *Aməša Spəntas* together" and "appear to define and distinguish the group"—to wit, 'immanence' and representation in the *yasna*—are present also in the character of *Sraoša*. 'Hearkening' can obviously be indwelling in man, and he seems to be represented in the *yasna* through his connection with the Sacred Word.³ The similarity of *Sraoša*'s characteristics to those of the great Gathic Entities suggests that the character of the *Yazata* was at least deeply influenced by the Prophet's thinking, and it seems possible therefore that *Sraoša* belonged originally to Zarathustra's revelation.⁴

There is some evidence, moreover, to suggest that a point of ritual existed in Zarathustra's time which could directly have influenced the Prophet's conception of 'Hearkening' as an Entity. The remarkable parallel between the Avestan formula *s(ə)raošō idā astū* (e.g. *Y.56, passim*) and the Vedic sacrificial cry *astu śrausaḥ* (*RV.1.139.1*) suggests that a similar cry may have been part of the Indo-Iranian ritual.

Indications that the Indian formula goes back at least to R̥gvedic times, and may well be older, can be found in the formation of the word *śrausaḥ*

¹ *Hist* I, 61.

² "Zoroaster the Priest", *BSOAS* XXXIII, 1970, 34-35.

³ Cf. *Y.46.17*; 28.5, Boyce, art. cit., 33 and above, Ch. IV, *passim*.

⁴ In her most recent book (*Hist* II, 252), Boyce adduces further considerations which appear to confirm this view.

(with diphthong instead of the expected *śroṣṣ*),⁵ and also in the apparently archaic features of the context in which it occurs in the liturgy:⁶ it is followed by the phrase *agnim yaja* (where *yaja* is used in the sense of "to worship", as in Avestan, rather than in its usual Indian sense of "to sacrifice"), after which the Hotṛ begins his recitation with the words *ye3 yajāmahe*, which are reminiscent of Av. *yazamaide*.

Although, owing to the difference between the Vedic and Avestan formulas, one cannot tell the exact form or meaning of the original cry, it seems possible that, if it was indeed part of the ritual of Zarathustra's time, such a cry may have led the Prophet to ponder on the importance and implications of 'hearkening', both in the ritual and in life generally, and thus have helped to inspire his conception of an Entity 'Hearkening'.

The Avestan formula ("May Hearkening be here...") may then be an adaptation of the ancient cry in the light of Zarathustra's teaching. The fact that Av. formulas including the words *s(ə)raošō idā astū* frequently occur among the *maθras* introducing a new part of the *Yasna*-ritual (see below, p. 169), while the Vedic cry is part of the introductory liturgy of the *yajati* offering,⁷ can be taken as a further indication that both formulas have a common origin in the Indo-Iranian ritual.

The context in which the word *s(ə)raoša-* appears in the *Gāthās* show, however, that 'Hearkening' was not thought of as an exclusively 'immanent' divinity, but that he already had a marked 'external'⁸ side to his nature: he has an especially close link with the battle between good and evil as it is fought by man on earth. *Səraoša* not only inspires 'hearkening' in man—his presence is also seen to be dependent upon the obedience to the divine command which is shown in practice. Elements of a 'discriminating' side to his character can already be distinguished in the *Gāthās*.

It seems possible that it was this 'external' element which caused *Sraoša* to become closely associated with Mithra, with whom he seems to share a direct interest in the battle between the righteous and the wicked on earth, and his 'discriminating' traits.⁹ In the greater hymn to *Sraoša* (*Y.57*), the close

⁵ On this see Narten, *SigAor*, 260; Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* II, 553, n. 3. On the retroflex *ṣ* see Narten, loc. cit. (References I owe to Professor Witzel.)

⁶ See Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, 99.

⁷ See Hillebrandt, loc. cit.

⁸ Cf. Boyce, art. cit., 35.

⁹ On Mithra's part in such battles, see e.g. *Yt.10, karda* 9: "punisher of wrong, the levier of armies, whose perception is thousandfold (v. 35)... who sets the battle in motion (v. 36)... off he throws the heads of the men that are false to the treaty (v. 37)" (trsl. Gershevitch, *AHM*, 91). In the hymn to Mithra, the opposition between righteous and wicked is stated predominantly in terms of loyalty to the covenant or the reverse (cf. also *Yt.10.17-21*). Mithra's powers of discrimination appear to be symbolized e.g. by his having "a thousand ears... a thousand eyes, a wide outlook" (*Yt.10.7*; trsl. Gershevitch, op. cit., 77).

connection which was evidently felt to exist between these two divinities at the time of its composition is illustrated by the fact that most of the imagery used to describe Sraoša's battle against the forces of evil, and some of the passages relating to his protection of the good creation, seem to have been borrowed from the *Mihr Yašt*.¹⁰ Thus the warlike epithets given to Sraoša in Y.57.13 (*yūnqm aojištām yūnqm tancištām*, etc.) are very similar to those which qualify Mithra in Yt.10.98 (*yō aojištō yazatanqm, yō tancištō yazatanqm*, etc.). The words *yō harata aiwyāxštaca... nišhaurvaiti mazdā dāmqn* (Y.57.15-16) which describe Sraoša as a guardian of the good creation, are used of Mithra in Yt.10.103. Sraoša's wakefulness (Y.57.16-17) may perhaps be connected with the vigilance ascribed to Mithra, who is "sleepless, (ever-)waking" (*ax'afnām jayaurvānham*, Yt.10.7) and whose nocturnal activities are described in Yt.10.95-97, where he is said to inspire terror in the *daēvas* (cf. Y.57.18), holding his mace in his hand (*vazrām zastaya dražamnō*, Yt.10.96; cf. Y.57.31, where Sraoša is said to hold a weapon (*snaiθiš*)¹¹ in his hand). The verses Y.57.25-26, imploring Sraoša's help and protection against the forces of evil and against enemies, seem to have been borrowed from Yt.10.93-4, and part of Y.57.27 (describing the four steeds by whom Sraoša is drawn), on which vv. 28-29 clearly depend, also occurs in Yt.10.68. The words *tanumaθrahe... bāzuš.aojanhō raθaēštā kamərəδō.janō daēvanqm* in Y.57.33, correspond closely to a passage in Yt.10.25-26 (*tanumaθrām bāzuš.aojanham raθaēštqm, kamərəδō.janām daēvanqm*). The epithet *tanu.mqθra-* "having the Sacred Word for body", however, appears to belong characteristically to Sraoša (cf. below, p. 174), and is used for Mithra only in this instance.¹² Since the *Mihr Yašt* passage moreover appears to attribute to Mithra a close connection with the Sacred Word,¹³ one cannot simply assume that the passage in Y.57 derives from, or is dependent on Yt.10. It rather seems that the similarity between these passages, which link the power to combat evil with a special connection with the Sacred Word, reflects mutual influence between Mithra and Sraoša.

The text of Y.57.19, where Haoma is said to worship Sraoša, appears to be a direct borrowing from the hymn to Mithra (Yt.10.88), but the presence of this verse (and the following v. 20, which stresses Haoma's own connection with the Sacred Word) in the hymn to Sraoša, may well be due to the fact that both divinities have close links with the performance of the ritual.¹⁴

¹⁰ Cf. Geiger, *AmSp*, 108 ff; Lommel, *Yts*, 98-7.

¹¹ The contrast between Mithra's mace (*vazra-*), an ancient weapon evidently known to the Indo-Iranians (cf. OInd. *vājra*; *AirWb*, 1392 s.v. *vazra-*)—and Sraoša's 'sharp-edged weapon', i.e. presumably a sword, a much younger weapon which was probably first used in the Bronze Age, may reflect the different ages of origin of these two divinities.

¹² Cf. Boyce, art. cit., 33 n. 68.

¹³ In Yt.10.25, Mithra is called "the eloquent, the exalted gratifier of prayers" (*vyāxanām vahmō.səndanham barazantām*).

¹⁴ On Haoma see Boyce, "Haoma, Priest of the Sacrifice", *HenningMemVol*, 62-80.

The passage *aya daēnaya fraorənta ahurō mazdā ašava*, etc., whose wording is almost alike in Y.57.24 and in Yt.10.92,¹⁵ appears to be too general in content for any conclusions to be drawn from it.

Most of those stanzas of Y.57 which have no parallel in the *Mihr Yašt*, and which thus appear to have been composed solely in honour of Sraoša, depict him as a divinity who embodies religious and particularly priestly virtues, and allude to his connection with the Sacred Word: he was the first to worship Ahura Mazdā, the Aməša Spəntas and the Protector and the Fashioner" (v. 2), the first to spread out the *barəsman* (v. 6) and to recite the *Gāthās* (v. 8). His "worship of the *Yazatas*" is referred to (v. 3). The sacred formulas serve him as a weapon (v. 22) and it is "because of his strength and victoriousness, familiarity (with the Sacred Word) and knowledge", that the Aməša Spəntas are said to have come down to earth (v. 23), which, as was suggested above (Ch. IV, pp. 144-5) may mean that it is possible for these Entities to be worshipped properly in the world of Mixture, only because Sraoša keeps in check the forces of evil and impurity.

The 'coming of Harkening', which was so ardently desired by Zarathustra,¹⁶ is described in Y.57 in terms of movement towards the earth, and return from it; Sraoša "moves at will towards the material world" (v. 24),¹⁷ and "settles down among Mazdā's creations" (v. 30); he also "moves towards this continent, X'aniraθa the splendid, three times each day and each night" (v. 31). The two sides of Sraoša's nature, his close links with the Aməša Spəntas and his active participation in the battle between good and evil on earth, are illustrated in *karda* 5 (vv. 11-12), where Sraoša is first given a number of heroic and warlike epithets, and is then said to "return, victorious, from all battles to the ceremonial meeting of the Aməša Spəntas".

Other passages in this hymn describe Sraoša's defeat of Aēšma (v. 10), of the "kayaθa-sinner" (v. 15), and of the *daēvas* generally (v. 18), and his power to protect the righteous. (vv. 10, 14, 34).

The fact that in this hymn no mention is made of Rašnu, with whom Sraoša is closely associated in what appear to be later sources,¹⁸ and the absence of any allusions to the judicial functions which are attributed to Mihr, Srōš and Rašn in the Pahlavi books,¹⁹ may perhaps be taken to indicate that Y.57 was composed at a time when the opposition between adherents of the faith and their adversaries was felt to be a more pressing

¹⁵ On the discrepancies between the two versions, see Gershevitch, op. cit., 235.

¹⁶ Cf. Y.43.12; 44.16.

¹⁷ Note that Sraoša is generally represented as coming towards the earth, presumably from heaven, whereas Mithra is consistently depicted as flying from one end of the earth to the other (Yt.10.16, 67, 95, 133).

¹⁸ See below, p. 176 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. above, Ch. III, pp. 134-5.

concern for the *Yazata* of 'hearkening', than the administration of individual justice (see further below pp. 175, 176 ff.).

Apart from the '*karda* of *Srōš*' (*Yt*.11.10-13 = *Y*.57.15-18), the militant side of Sraoša's character is hardly referred to in *Yt*.11, the other, apparently later²⁰ hymn to Sraoša. Its first *karda* (vv. 1-9) has the appearance of being originally a eulogy on Prayer (to which the curious verse 7, and the customary dedicatory formulas to Sraoša have been added), rather than of having been composed in honour of that *Yazata*. In the first six verses of this *karda*, Sraoša is only mentioned in the dedication, and once in an enumeration of beings and forces capable of repelling evil (v. 3). Since the passage appears, however, as the first section of a hymn in his honour, it seems that the composers of the hymn were keenly aware of—or even wished to stress—Sraoša's links with the Sacred Word. The second *karda* of the hymn is the '*karda* of *Srōš*', which may well have been recited by itself as a prayer to Sraoša at an early age.²¹ It is followed by the remarkable verse 14: "We worship Sraoša. . . ., who watches over the truces and treaties between the *Drug* and the Most Bounteous Spirit. The *Aməša Spəntas* came down to the earth of seven continents. Who (is) the teacher of religion; to him *Ahura Mazdā* taught the religion". The opening part of the verse, attributing to Sraoša an extremely important function which, it seems, must originally have belonged to Mithra (viz. "watching over the truces and treaties. . ."), suggests an expansion of Sraoša's powers. The part referring to the coming of the *Aməša Spəntas* seems clearer when considered in the light of its context in *Y*.57.23 (on which see previous page); the passage as a whole may perhaps be taken to refer to Sraoša's maintaining the balance between the forces of good and evil on earth. The remaining part of the hymn consists of monotonous enumerations of the names of divinities (vv. 16-17, 21-22), and of a few apparently uninformative verses (vv. 18, 19, 20), the latter two of which seem to be borrowings from *Y*.57.33-34.

The fact that Sraoša is explicitly said here to watch over the truces and treaties between the two forces²²—and thus to hold a position of supreme importance in the world—may reflect a development in theological thinking which led ultimately to Sraoša's becoming 'lord of this world'. The appellation *Srōš Yašt Hādōxt* suggests that this hymn was part of the lost *Hādōxt Nask*, a part of the Avesta which according to the *Dēnkard*,²³ dealt largely

²⁰ Cf. e.g. Bartholomae, *AirWb*, xxii.

²¹ Witness the fact that it was incorporated as a whole into *Yt*.11, and that it is referred to as an independent *karda* in the Pahlavi books (cf. above, Ch. IV, pp. 152-3).

²² The idea may perhaps be foreshadowed in *Y*.57.17: "who has not slept since the two Spirits created the creations, the Bounteous One and the Evil One, watching over the world of righteousness. . ."

²³ *Dk*. trsl. West, *SBE* XXXVII, 166-9; *DkM.*, 784.16-786.10.

with matters of orthopraxy, such as the recitation of the *Ahunawar* prayer, "having a *dastwar*",²⁴ the atonement of sins, and the proper performance of the rituals. In combination with the apparent emphasis on Sraoša's 'priestly' traits (such as his connection with prayer and his role as "teacher of religion"), this may lead one to suppose that the composition of *Yašt* 11 was in some way connected with a tendency among priests to stress the importance of orthopraxy, and thus perhaps to view Sraoša's battle against evil and his protection of the righteous largely in terms of his concern for the correct performance of ritual acts. Such views would evidently tend to enhance Sraoša's connection with priestly authority.

The tendency outlined above, of associating Sraoša primarily with orthopraxy is also reflected by the passages which include the words *s(ə)raošō idā astū* (on which see also above, p. 164 f.). In *Y*.56, the pseudo-Gathic passage which appears to have been composed around this phrase and which serves, in the *Yasna*, as an introductory passage to the greater hymn to Sraoša, the recurrent phrase "May Hearkening be here for the worship. . ." seems to link the divinity closely to the ritual by stressing the 'indwelling' side of his nature. In fact, only the epithet *ašivā* "possessing rewards" (vv. 3,4),²⁵ seems to indicate that the *Yazata* is intended rather than the 'obedient frame of mind'. In this way, the connection between the presence of Hearkening at the ritual, and the 'hearkening' required of the participants is emphasized. The same phrase occurs in *Y*.15.3, in the beginning of what appears to be a new part of the liturgy,²⁶ in *Y*.63.2, at the beginning of the *Āb-zōhr*,²⁷ and in the middle of that liturgy (*Y*.65.17). A similar phrase, which seems to combine the ancient cry with Gathic imagery (cf. *Y*.43.12 q.v.) is found among the introductory formulas of the *Gāthās* (*Y*.27.6), and again in *Visp*.12.1: *varhuš sraošō yō *aši²⁸ hacaite *mazaraya hāca idā yōiθwā astu* "and may he, good Hearkening, who is accompanied by Reward possessing great wealth, be actively busy here".

In *Y*.60.5-6: *vainiūt ahmi nmāne sraošō asruštīm. . . . yaθa ahmya aməšā spənta sraošāda ašyāda paitišan varhuš yasnašca vahmašca* "May, in this house, Hearkening overcome disobedience. . . so that, in it, the Bounteous Immortals may receive, through Hearkening, accompanied by rewards, good

²⁴ *DkM.*, 784.19-20 (see preceding note); on 'having a *dastwar*' cf. also above, Ch. III, p. 120 ff.

²⁵ See *Y*.56, n. 1.1, and below, n. 45.

²⁶ According to Darmesteter (*ZAv* I, LXXXIII; 135), the *Staota Yesnya* begin in the preceding *Hā*.

²⁷ See Darmesteter, op. cit., 392 ff.

²⁸ So Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 242, 243 n. 8 (s.v. *ašay-*). Geldner reads *yō ašahe*.

acts of worship and (good) prayers of praise", Sraoša appears to be identified almost completely with the 'obedient frame of mind'; the passage also illustrates his connection with worship and prayer, and his role as a mediator between heaven and earth. Sraoša's identity as an embodiment of religious obedience ('hearkening'), is also apparent in a passage from the *Hōm Yašt*:

Y.10.1 *viš apqm ida patəntu*
 vī daēvānhō vī daēvayō
 vanhuš sraošō mitayatu
 ašiš vanuhi ida miθnatu
 ašiš vanuhi rāmyaṭ ida
 upa imaṭ nmānəm yaṭ āhūiri yaṭ haomahe ašavazanḥō

"From now on may they go away from here, the male and female *daēvas*; good Sraoša may stay here, good Aši may have her abode here, good Aši may dwell here, in²⁹ this house, the ahurian, which belongs to righteousness-increasing Haoma."

Sraoša's association with Aši and Nairyō.sanḥa, the other divinity of prayer, is referred to in Y.57.3, and in two passages of the *Vispered* (Y.7.1; 11.16).³⁰ Uncharacteristically, the two divinities of prayer are mentioned together in a passage of the *Mīhr Yašt* which deals with the punishment of the wicked,³¹ Yt. 10.52: "Then, when the malignant evil-doer rushes forward with fast step, Mithra of wide pastures yokes his fast chariot, and also powerful Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, and delightful³² Nairyō.sanḥa" (*āaṭ yaṭ duždā fradvaraiti yō aṭāvarāš θwāša gāma θwāšəm yuyjeiti vāšəm miθrō yō vouru. gaoyaoitiš sraošasca ašyō sūrō nairyō.sanḥasca yō māyuš*).³³ Sraoša and Nairyō.sanḥa are mentioned together in association with the Urvāzišta-fire,³⁴ in a passage from the hymn to the *fravašis*:

Yt.13.85 *yqmca āθrō urvāzištahe*
 spəntahe vyāxanahe
 yqmca sraošahe ašyehe

²⁹ Or "on", cf. *AirWb*, 389.

³⁰ *Visp*.7.1: *vaca aršuxḍa yazamaide, sraošəm ašim yazamaide, ašim vanuhim yazamaide, nairīm sanḥəm yazamaide* "we worship the rightly-spoken word, we worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, we worship good Aši, we worship Nairyō.sanḥa." *Visp*.11.16: *āaṭ diš āvaēḍayamahī sraošahe ašyehe ašōišca vanhuyā nairyehēca sanḥahe* "thus we consecrate them to Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, to good Aši, and to Nairyō.sanḥa."

³¹ On this apparent anomaly see Gershevitch, op. cit., 194, 205.

³² On *māyu*- "delightful" as an epithet of Nairyō.sanḥa see Gershevitch, op. cit., 205-6.

³³ For the passages where Mithra, Sraoša and Rašnu appear together see below.

³⁴ On Nairyō.sanḥa's links with fire see Gray, *Foundations*, 152-4, and Boyce, *Hist* I, 61. On the Urvāzišta-fire, relatively little is known. According to the Pahlavi tradition, it was the fire which exists in plants (e.g. *Zādspr*.III. 80: *urvāzišt hān ī andar urwarān* "the Urvāzišt is what (is) in plants"; cf. also *AirWb*, 1545 s.v. *urvāzišta*-).

taxmahe tanumaθrahe
darši.draoš āhūiryehe
yqmca nairyehē sanḥahe

"and that (*fravaši*) of the Urvāzišta-fire, the bounteous, the eloquent, and that of Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, the brave, who has the Sacred Word for body, with bold club, the ahurian, and that of Nairyō.sanḥa."

Sraoša's link with fire, and possibly his increasing prominence, also seem to be reflected in Y.22.4: *xšnūmaine ahurahe mazdā aməšanqm spəntanqm sraošahe ašyehe āθrō ahurahe mazdā raθwō bərəzatō yō ašahe*, "for the satisfaction of Ahura Mazdā, of the Aməša Spəntas, of Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, and of the Fire of Ahura Mazdā, the exalted master of righteousness"—where Sraoša and the Fire are mentioned directly after Ahura Mazdā and the Bounteous Immortals. In two apparently late passages, Y.4.2. and *Visp*.11.6,³⁵ Sraoša is mentioned immediately after Ahura Mazdā, and in the (equally late) *Ohrmazd Yašt*, these divinities also appear to be closely associated:

Yt.1.9 *yazaēša mqm zaraθuštra*
 paiti asni paiti xšafne
 yasō.bərətābyō zaoθrābyō
 jasāni.tē avanḥaēca rafnanḥaēca
 azəm yō ahurō mazdā.
 jasāiti.tē avanḥaēca rafnanḥaēca
 yō vanhuš sraošō ašyō. . .

"May you worship me, Zarathustra, by day and by night, with worthily-offered offerings, then I shall come to you for aid and support, I, Ahura Mazdā. Then he will come to you for aid and support, good Sraoša, accompanied by rewards. . ."

The link between Ahura Mazdā, Sraoša and the Sacred Word is illustrated by Yt.13.146, where it is said that the *fravašis* will come to the aid of the worshippers "with the support of Ahura Mazdā,³⁶ and of Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, the powerful, and of the bounteous *Mqθra*" (*aomna ahura mazda sraošaca ašya sūra mqθraca spənta*).

³⁵ Y.4.2: *āaṭ diš āvaēḍayamahī ahurāica mazdāi sraošāica ašyāi aməšaēthyasca spəntaēthyō* "thus we consecrate them to Ahura Mazdā, to Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, and to the Bounteous Immortals." On the relatively late date of the first *Hās* of the *Yasna* see below, p. 177. *Visp*.11.6 *ahurāica mazdāi sraošāica ašyāi* "to Ahura Mazdā and to Sraoša, accompanied by rewards." On the late origin of the *Vispered* ceremony and, presumably, of the text known by that name see Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 125.

³⁶ Lit. "with Ahura Mazdā as a helper".

The passage *Afr.3.4: ā.dī frañhārayaṭ sraoṣāt dāhišta arš.vacastēma ašam ašavastēma*, "he shall give it to drink to those (who are) best instructed by Sraoša, whose words are most rightly spoken, the most righteous as to Righteousness," could be taken to refer to Sraoša's role as a teacher of religion.³⁷

The tendency referred to above, of associating Sraoša more and more strongly with orthopraxy as this came to play an increasingly dominant role in Zoroastrianism, can be clearly observed in the *Vendīdād*, the 'ritualistic' *Nask* which, as Boyce³⁸ suggests, may have been compiled from the scattered tradition during the Parthian period. The eighteenth *Fragard*, which opens with a denunciation of the heretical priest, goes on to describe the cock as Sraoša's *sraoṣāvarəz* (*sraoṣahe . . . sraoṣāvarəzō*, *Vend.18.14*) because it raises its voice at dawn to call men to prayer (*Vend.18.15*). In *Vend.18.22-23*, Sraoša is said to save the fire during the last period of the night by calling the cock, who in turn calls upon the faithful to perform their religious duties.³⁹ In the following part of the *Fragard* (*Vend.18.30-59*), Sraoša interrogates the *Drug* on matters concerning impurity: *sraoṣō ašyō drujim apərəsaṭ apayūxtāt paiti vazrāt*, "Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, asked the *Drug*, having laid aside his mace⁴⁰" (*Vend. 18.30,33,36,39,42,48,53,56*). Characteristically, while in earlier parts of this *Fragard* (18.8,14), it is Zarathustra who questions Ahura Mazdā, direct contact with the polluting *Drug* is left to Sraoša.⁴¹ In thus representing Sraoša as the antagonist of the *Drug*—the embodiment, it seems, of evil generally—the passage seems to imply that Sraoša, champion of orthopraxy, was regarded as the chief opponent of evil in this world.

Sraoša's function as a restorer of purity is referred to in *Vend.9.56*, where it is said that prosperity will not return to the place which has been polluted by the presence of a heretical priest, "before the unrighteous heretic is killed here with one blow, or before they worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, in this land for three days and three nights with burning fire, with outspread

³⁷ Cf. *Y.57.23; Yt.11.14*. The interpretation of *sraoṣāt* as a common noun, which would yield a translation "best instructed by hearkening", would also seem possible.

³⁸ *Zoroastrians*, 94-5.

³⁹ *Vend.18.22-23: aūt mē θrityāi θrišvāi xšnafne ātarš ahurahe mazdā sraoṣam ašim yāsaiti: avaiñhe āi sraoša ašya huraoḍa āaṭ hō sraoṣō ašyō aom marəyām parō.darš frayrūryeiti, parō.darš nqma spitama zaraθuštra, yim mašyāka avi dužvacanḥō kahrkatās nqma aojaite. āaṭ hō marəyō vācim baraiti upa ušāñham yqm sūrqm*, "then, for the third third part in the night, the fire of Ahura Mazdā entertains Sraoša, companion of Aši: 'Help, o Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form. . . . Then he, Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, awakens that bird Parō.darš, Parō.darš by name, Spitama Zarathustra, whom evil-speaking people call by the name of Kahrkatāt. Then that bird raises its voice in the powerful dawn."

⁴⁰ Here Sraoša's weapon is said to be the mace (*vazra-*), which is usually associated with Mithra, cf. above, n. 11.

⁴¹ Cf. above, Ch. IV, pp. 144-5.

barəsmān, with elevated Haoma-stalk⁴²" (*para ahmāt yaṭ iḍa ašəmaoyō anašava haθra.jatō nijanāite yaṭ vā aētanḥā daiñhōuš sraoṣō ašyō frāyazānte θri.ayarəm θri.xšaparəm, saocintaṭ paiti āθraṭ, frastərətāt paiti barəsmān, uzdātāt paiti haomāt*).

In *Vend.19.15*, the invocation of "Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form, holding in his hand a weapon against the heads of the demons" (*nizbayemi sraoṣam ašim huraoḍəm, snaiθiš zastaya dražimnō kamərəḍe paiti daēvanqm*), occurs between those of Mithra and the bounteous Sacred Word.

Elsewhere in *Fragard* 19, the worship of Sraoša appears to be directly associated with making offerings to the fire, a further indication of his concern with the ritual. *Vend.19.40: yaštō xšnūtō friθō paiti.zantō sraoṣō ašyō huraoḍō, vərəθraja sraoṣō ašyō. āθre zaoθrā frabarōiš, xruždranqm aēsmanqm āθre frabarōiš . . .* "worshipped, satisfied, beloved, made welcome (is) Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form—victorious (is) Sraoša, accompanied by rewards. May you bring offerings to the fire, may you bring (offerings of) hard fire-wood to the fire. . . ."

The following passage (*Vend.19.41*) refers to Sraoša's powers—when properly worshipped—of defeating the demons: *sraoṣō ašyō frāyazaēša; sraoṣō ašyō daēum kundəm banḥəm vībanḥəm ava.janyāt*, "May you worship Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, aloud; may Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, strike the demon Kunda, who is intoxicated without means of intoxication."

No explicit mention is made in the *Vendīdād* of Sraoša's connections with death. Although it would seem unlikely, in view of Sraoša's obvious concern with purification and of his age-old role as a mediator between heaven and earth, that no such links had developed at the time of the compilation of the *Vendīdād*,⁴³ it seems possible that the guardianship of the soul after death was not yet regarded then as an especially prominent feature of the *Yazata*.

Of Sraoša's Avestan epithets,⁴⁴ *ašya-* "accompanied by rewards", which belongs exclusively to Sraoša, is by far the most common. The word appears to reflect one of the earliest attested features of the divinity, viz. his partnership with Aši, personification of the Reward (cf. *Y.43.12*), and may

⁴² For this translation of *uzdātāt paiti haomāt* cf. Gershevitch op. cit., 117 (*Yt.10.91*). Gershevitch's rendering of the 'ablative absolute' as "having spread out the barsman-twig, elevated the Haoma-stalk", cannot be adopted here, it seems, because of the phrase *saocintaṭ paiti āθraṭ*, which seems to describe a state of things which is still in progress, rather than an act which has been completed, cf. *Vend.2.9: āθraṃca suxram saocintqm* "and of red, burning fires".

⁴³ Note also *Vend.8.19-21*, where formulas which were later recited as part of the *Srōš Bāj* are associated with the purification of a road along which a corpse has passed (cf. above, Ch. IV, pp. 148-9).

⁴⁴ For a complete survey of Sraoša's epithets, see Gray, *Foundations* 108-9.

thus be the oldest of Sraoša's Younger Avestan epithets. The Gathic qualifications *mazišta-* "greatest" (Y.28.5), and *vispā.mazišta-* "all-greatest" (Y.33.5), are not used as epithets in the later tradition. The adjective *ašivant-* "possessing rewards" may also belong properly to Sraoša alone.⁴⁵

Of the other epithets which occur in the *šnūmans* of Sraoša,⁴⁶ *tanu.mqθra-* "having the Sacred Word for body", is perhaps the most characteristic. The term is used once for Mithra,⁴⁷ and a number of times for men who are notable for their knowledge of the Mqθra,⁴⁸ among them Vištāspa, with whom Sraoša shares a number of epithets⁴⁹ (including *bərəzi-dā(y)*⁵⁰ "with sublime insight", which may have belonged originally to Vištāspa⁵¹), and with whom he is associated in the Pahlavi books.⁵²

Sraoša's standing epithets *āhūrya-* "ahurian", *frādaṭ.gaēθā-* "furthering the world", *ašavan-* "righteous", *ašahe ratu-* "master of righteousness" and also *vanhu-* "good" (Y.56.3,4; 27.6), further denote his goodness. The epithet *aostō.nāman-* "whose name is spoken (during the worship)" (Y.3.20), which is used most frequently of Mithra,⁵³ may have been considered appropriate for the divine champion of orthopraxy because it is directly associated with the ritual.

The only epithets describing Sraoša's outward appearance seem to be *huraōda-* "fair of form", *darši.dru-* "with bold club", *bərəzyāsta-* "high-girded" (Y.57.30), and possibly *bərəzant-* "tall" (ibid.).⁵⁴ Of these, *huraōda-* is used in Sraoša's own *Yašt* (Y.57.3) as an epithet for Nairyō.san̄ha who, in the later tradition, is celebrated for his beauty.⁵⁵ Although the word occurs in the *šnūman* of Sraoša and is more frequently used of him than of Nairyō.san̄ha, it seems possible that it was the conspicuous beauty of the other *Yazata* of prayer that led people to think of Sraoša, too, as "fair of form".

⁴⁵ Cf. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 253, 259), who rejects Geldner's readings *ašivantō* and *ašivatō* in Y.58.6 and *Visp*.9.5 respectively, where the words are not used of Sraoša, in favour of the well-attested forms *ašav**, which he derives from an (otherwise unattested) adj. *ašavant-*. On *ašivā* in Y.51.5 see Gershevitch, op. cit., 325.

⁴⁶ *Sir*, I, II.17.

⁴⁷ *Yt*.10.25, see also above, p. 166.

⁴⁸ *Yt*.5.91; 10.137; 13.99,106; *Vend*.18.51.

⁴⁹ cf. *Yt*.13.99: *kavōiš vištāspahe ašaonō fravašim yazamaide, taxmahe tanumqθrahe darši. draoš āhūryehe* "we worship the *fravaši* of the righteous Kavi Vištāspa, the brave, who has the Sacred Word for body, with bold club, the ahurian."

⁵⁰ On the usual spelling *bərəzant* see Bartholomae, *GIP*, I,1, 155 (§268.9).

⁵¹ The word is used three times of Vištāspa (cf. *AirWb*, 961), and only once of Sraoša (Y.57.11).

⁵² Cf. above, Ch. III, p. 113 with n. 15.

⁵³ Cf. *AirWb*, 39.

⁵⁴ See also above, Y.57, n. 30.¹

⁵⁵ Cf. Gershevitch, op. cit., 205-6; Boyce, *Hist* I, 61.

A considerable majority of epithets, however, refer to the militant side of Sraoša's character: in his *šnūmans* we find such terms as *taxma-* "brave", *darši.dru-* "with bold club", *vərəθrāgan-* "victorious", and Y.57.11,13,33, contain enumerations of such epithets, many of them, it seems, directly borrowed from Mithra.⁵⁶

The compounds *sraošāvarəz-*⁵⁷ and *sraošō.carana-* "priestly instrument for corporal punishment",⁵⁸ and the derivative noun *sraošyā-* "punishment",⁵⁹ led Benveniste⁶⁰ to postulate for the concept *sraoša-* a meaning "discipline". He regarded the occurrence of a loanword *srwšyt* "punishment" in an Aramaic document from Egypt, as confirmation of this view.⁶¹ Benveniste's interpretation was, however, obviously based on a very limited range of facts. A more extensive examination of the characteristics and functions of the *Yazata* suggests that, as a basic meaning of the common noun from which the divinity's name evidently derives, "discipline" is less satisfactory than "hearkening", in that it explains only one side of the *Yazata*'s nature, and does not account for his link with the Sacred Word. Whether the common noun *sraoša-* acquired, in the course of time, a meaning "discipline" and thus became strongly associated with punishment—or if the origin of such words as *sraošyā-* "punishment", was due to the development of the punitive and judicial traits of the divinity,⁶² must remain a matter of speculation. In view, however, of the absence of clearly attested instances of such a meaning of the common noun *sraoša-*, the latter theory seems more plausible. The first members of the above-mentioned compounds could hardly be cited as evidence of the existence of such a meaning, since it seems probably that these owed their formation largely to Sraoša's concern with orthopraxy.⁶³ Benveniste's argument is valuable, however, in that it provides a European concept which seems to correspond closely to an important side of Sraoša's character.

⁵⁶ Cf. above, p. 166.

⁵⁷ On the *sraošāvarəz-*, see also above, Ch. IV, pp. 160-1.

⁵⁸ *AirWb*, 1636-7.

⁵⁹ On the neuter *sraošyā-* "punishment" see Gershevitch, op. cit., 181 (n. 26.1).

⁶⁰ "Deux Noms Divins dans l'Avesta", *RHR* CXXX, 1945, 13-4.

⁶¹ "Éléments Perses en Araméen d'Égypte", *JA* CCXLII, 1954, 304.

⁶² Note that the words *sraošyā-* and *sraošyā-* occur in passages of the *Mīhr Yašt* whose grammar appears to be corrupt (*Yt*.10.26 and 109 respectively; cf. Gershevitch, *AHM*, 181, 258 ff.), and that their presence in this hymn may thus be due to relatively late interpolations. The word *sraošyā-* further occurs in the *Vendidād* (*Vend*.13.3, cf. n. 66). The words *sraošāvarəz-* and *sraošō.carana-* seem to be attested in late Avestan texts only (cf. *AirWb*, 1636, 1637).

⁶³ On the links between Sraoša and the *sraošāvarəz-*, cf. above, Ch. IV, p. 160, and *Vend*.18.14 (cf. above, p. 172). The name *sraošō.carana-* "leather whip of obedience" (or even: "of Sraoša"), for an instrument used by priests to chastise offenders, may well owe its origin to the fact that Sraoša holds in his hands a weapon "against the heads of the demons" (Y.57.31).

Because of the extreme scarcity of datable evidence for the period before the 1st century B.C., it seems impossible to establish even an approximate chronology for most of the developments outlined above.

Ghirshman's⁶⁴ view that one of the Lurestan-bronzes—an idol with a human head, apparently strangling two monsters and flanked by the heads of two cocks—represents Sraoša, can only be regarded at present as a rather speculative hypothesis.

Sraoša's position in the Zoroastrian calendar, which was apparently evolved in the later Achaemenian period,⁶⁵ seems to provide a *terminus ante quem* for Sraoša's close association with Mithra and Rašnu. The existence of such a triad is in no way suggested in Y.57, where Rašnu is not mentioned, and not a trace can be found there of the judicial functions which were attributed to Sraoša (in association with Mithra and Rašnu) in the Pahlavi books and which may also be reflected by the apparently judicial connotations of such words as *sraošyā*—“punishment”.⁶⁶ The occurrence of the loanword *srwšyt* “punishment”, in an Aramaic document of the 5th century B.C., could be regarded as an indication that such traits had already evolved at a somewhat earlier date. A possible reason for Rašnu's absence from a hymn in which Sraoša's links with Mithra appear to play so prominent a role,⁶⁷ is that Mithra may have had separate links with Sraoša and Rašnu before these divinities came to be regarded as a triad. That such links existed between Mithra and Rašnu is suggested by the fact that their names occur together in passages of such ‘old’ hymns as the *Farwardīn Yašt* (Yt.13.3,47) and the *Bahrām Yašt* (Yt.14.47), and that they are mentioned together in connection with the ordeal through drinking sulphurous water⁶⁸ in *Vend.4.54-55*, which may be old in content if not in form. In Mithra's own *Yašt*, moreover, they appear together in three verses (Yt.10.79,126,139) where no mention is made of Sraoša; and the apparent confusion in Yt.10 between the triads Mithra-Sraoša-Rašnu and Sraoša-Aši-Nairyō.san̄ha,⁶⁹ may well indicate that there was change and development in Sraoša's relations with these divinities at some stage. In the two verses of the *Mihr Yašt* where the three are mentioned together, the inclusion of Sraoša's name may well be due

⁶⁴ *Iran I*, trsl. by Sibylle Edzard, Munich 1964, 43 ff.

⁶⁵ Cf. Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 70.

⁶⁶ Cf. Yt.10.109, and especially *Vend.13.3*: *yō nōit̄ jvō sraošyqm uzvərəzyeiti* “who does not serve the whole of his punishment during his lifetime”, where the word *sraošyā* seems to denote a carefully measured punishment.

⁶⁷ As an *argumentum ex nihilo*, this may be thought insufficient to warrant any conclusions. It may be pointed out, however, that the other *Yazatas* with whom Sraoša appears to have been closely linked at an early age, viz. Ahura Mazdā, the Amāša Spəntas, Mithra (here appearing as *pāyu-*, “the Protector”), Aši and Nairyō.san̄ha, are all mentioned in the first *kardā* of Y.57.

⁶⁸ On this ordeal see Boyce, *Hist I*, 35-6.

⁶⁹ Cf. Gershevitch, op. cit., 193-4.

to a relatively late interpolation. In Yt.10.41: *miθrō avi.θrāṇhayete, rašnuš paiti.θrāṇhayete, sraošō ašyō vispaēibyō naēmaēibyō ḥqm.vāiti* “Mithra drives (the regiments) hither in fright, Rašnu drives them thither in fright, Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, drives them together from all sides”, the same verb (*θrāṇhayete*) is used of Mithra and Rašnu, while the sentence about Sraoša not only appears to disrupt the grammatical structure of the verse as a whole,⁷⁰ but also seems to imply that Sraoša—by driving the scattered regiments together again—counteracts the effects of their actions. In Yt.10.100: *dašinām hē upa arəḏəm vazaite yō vaṇhuš sraošō ašyō, vairya. stārām hē upa arəḏəm vazaite rašnuš bərəzō yō amavā* “on his right flies good Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, on his left flies tall Rašnu, the strong”, Sraoša seems to have taken the place on Mithra's right, which may originally have belonged to Rašnu.⁷¹ In a verse of the hymn to Aši (Yt.17.16): *pita.tē yō ahurō mazdā, yō mazištō yazatanqm, yō vahištō yazatanqm, māta ārmaitiš spənta, brāta.tē yō vaṇhuš sraošō ašyō, rašnušca bərəzō amavā, miθrasca vouru.gaoyaoitiš yō baēvarə.spasanō hazanra.gaošō, x'an̄ha daēna māzdayes-niš* “your father is Ahura Mazdā, the greatest of the *Yazatas*, the best of the *Yazatas*, (your) mother is bounteous Ārmaiti, your brother is good Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, and (also) Rašnu, the tall, the strong, and Mithra of wide pastures, who has ten thousand spies, who has a thousand ears, (your) sister is the Mazdayasnian Religion”, the references to Rašnu and Mithra may be later additions (note the singular *brāta*, and the apparently irrelevant enumeration of Mithra's epithets). The remaining passages where the three are mentioned together (Yt.11.16,21; Y.65.12; 70.3; *Visp.11.6*),⁷² are enumerations of divinities which have no marks of great antiquity.

Sraoša and Rašnu, together with Arštāt, appear as joint guardians of the Ušahin-*gāh* in the first *Hās* of the *Yasna* (Y.1.7; 2.7; 3.9; 4.12; 6.6; 7.9). (These *Hās* suggest a special preoccupation with the divisions of the day, the month and the year, and may well have been added to the *Yasna* after the adoption of the calendar.) It seems possible that Rašnu's guardianship over the watch evolved as a result of his association with Sraoša and Mithra, who

⁷⁰ Viz. in that it makes the words *paiti θrātāra yazata* in the next line seem to belong to *ḥqm.vāiti* rather than to *raēcayeinti*, cf. Gershevitch, op. cit., 195 (n. 41.2).

⁷¹ Cf. Yt.10.126: *dašinām hē arəḏe vazaite rašnvō razištō* “on his right flies Rašnu, the very straight.” For another, to the present writer's mind rather far-fetched explanation of the discrepancy between the two verses see Gershevitch, op. cit., 39.

⁷² Y.65.12: *imaθ miθra vouru.gaoyaoite, imaθ sraoša ašya huraoḏa, imaθ rašnvō razišta* “this (I pray for to you), Mithra of wide pastures, this, Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, fair of form, this, very straight Rašnu.” Y.70.3: *yā sraošahe ašyehe yā rašnaoš razištahe yā miθrahe vouru.gaoyaoitiš*, “which belongs to Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, to the very straight Rašnu, to Mithra of wide pastures.” *Visp.11.6*: *ahurāica mazdāi sraošaica ašyāi rašnvaēca razištāi miθraica vouru.gaoyaoitiš* “and to Ahura Mazdā, and to Sraoša, accompanied by rewards, and to the very straight Rašnu, and to Mithra of wide pastures.”

may have been the original *Yazatas* of the Ušahin and Hāwan-gāhs.⁷³ Arštāt's association with the Ušahin-gāh appears to be due to her close links with Rašnu, with whom she is propitiated in the same *šnūman* (Sir.I,II.18).⁷⁴

The fact that Rašnu's name appears in Old Persian nomenclature of the 6th/5th centuries B.C.,⁷⁵ at a time when, according to Boyce,⁷⁶ "Zoroastrian influences are not clearly apparent in the giving of names in Pars," suggests that Rašnu had a certain popularity in Western Iran at an early age. It seems possible therefore that it was at the time when Zoroastrianism had reached Pars that Sraoša—whose connection with 'religious obedience', and the atmosphere of whose *Yašt*⁷⁷ suggest that his cult may well have been popular with the missionaries who brought the faith to the West—came to be closely associated with Rašnu, whose links with Mithra were apparently recognized in Eastern and Western⁷⁸ Iran alike but whose cult may have been more prominent in Pars. Whether, in the more advanced and complex social structure of Western Iran, a greater preoccupation with the social aspects of keeping contracts, obedience to (priestly) authority and the administration of justice, and with their mutual links, may have played a role in the formation of this triad—or if these *Yazatas* were already felt to have a special connection with the fate of the soul after death, must remain matters for speculation.

Since we do not know for certain which considerations played a part in the naming of the months,⁷⁹ it would be improper to draw conclusions from the fact that no month was named for Sraoša. His position in the calendar as a whole, however, suggests that in the later Achaemenian period, Sraoša was still a 'minor' divinity, closely associated with Mithra, and that the development which led to his independent prominence as 'lord of this world', had not yet been completed at this time.

The place-name *šu-ra-u-ša*,⁸⁰ attested on one of the Elamite Treasury tablets, which Hinz plausibly identifies with Av. *sraoša*-, does not appear to throw any further light on the cult of Sraoša in Achaemenian times.

⁷³ Note that in *GBd*.III.22 (cf. above, Ch. III, p. 117 the first three warches of the day are said to have one guardian each, and only the Ēbsrūrim and Ušahin-gāhs have more than one. This may be taken to indicate that originally each period had one guardian only, and that other *Yazatas* became associated with the *gāhs* at a later stage.

⁷⁴ Note that in *Phl*.Y.57.33, the name of the *Yazata* Aršti (cf. above, Y.57, n. 33.³) is rendered as *Aštād Yazd*, and thus identified with that of Arštāt.

⁷⁵ Cf. Benveniste, *Titres et Noms Propres en Iranien Ancien*, Paris 1966, 91, 97 (**Rašnudāta* and **Rašnuka*).

⁷⁶ Boyce, *Hist* I, 59.

⁷⁷ Y.57, cf. its emphasis on the basic elements of the teaching and observances of Zoroastrianism (vv. 1-8), and on the fight between the righteous and those who oppose them (see also above, pp. 167-8).

⁷⁸ Cf. Boyce, loc. cit.

⁷⁹ For some interesting insights in this process see Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 70ff.

⁸⁰ Cf. Hinz, *NWAp*, 79.

If Sraoša was still a 'minor' divinity in Achaemenian Persia, the few data which we possess concerning his cult among the Parthians seem to indicate that he may have been rather more prominent during the Parthian period. His position in the *Vendidad*, which may have been compiled at this time, suggests that this increase in popularity may well have been connected with a growing concern for orthopraxy.⁸¹

While no Avestan or Old Persian personal names containing the name of this *Yazata* seem to be attested,⁸² a number of such names occur on the Parthian ostraca of Nīsā (1st cent. B.C.):⁸³ *srwšk* (nos. 26, 171, 364, 367, 368, 406, probably 388, 571, possibly 249), *srwšdtk* (661), *srwšssnk* (524, 598, 599), and perhaps *srwšyk* (526).

A further indication of the veneration in which Srōš was held by the Parthians is the fact that, in Manichaean Parthian, the name Srōšāw Yazd⁸⁴ is used for the 'Father of Greatness', the primeval ruler over Paradise.⁸⁵ In Persian Manichaean texts, this god is sometimes given the name Zurwān, the name Srōš-ahrāy being used for the—evidently less eminent—'Column of Glory', who is both a god and the path along which the souls pass to the moon after death.⁸⁶ Although both identifications appear to reflect significant aspects of Srōš's functions in contemporary Zoroastrianism—viz. his prominent position in the pantheon and his guardianship of the soul after death—the discrepancy between the Parthian and the Persian versions is too striking, it seems, to be fortuitous; it suggests that a real difference existed between important sections of the Parthian and Persian communities with regard to their veneration for Srōš. This seems to be borne out by the fact that very few personal names containing the name of Srōš appear to be attested for the Sasanian period.⁸⁷

In view of the fact that most of the Pahlavi texts which attribute to Srōš the role of 'lord of this world', must have been transmitted through, or have

⁸¹ Cf. above, pp. 169, 172.

⁸² Cf. Justi, *IrNam*, 311 *et passim*; Benveniste, op. cit., *passim*; Mayrhofer, *AvNam*, *passim*.

⁸³ See I. M. Diakonoff and V. A. Livshits, *Parthian Documents from Nisa*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, part I, Vol. II, ed. by D. N. MacKenzie. Plate Vols. I, II, London 1976, 1977; Texts London, undated.

⁸⁴ Cf. Boyce, *Reader*, 8.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 4ff.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 6-10.

⁸⁷ Of the bearers of such names, as cited by Justi (loc. cit.), only *srwšpt ZY mgw* (cf. A. Mordtmann, "Studien über Geschnittene Steine mit Pehlevi-Inschriften", *ZDMG* 18, 1864, 37, no. 113; Mordtmann reads the inscription as *srwšptny mzd*), and perhaps Hormoz Sorūšān (the great-great-great grandfather of Muhammad b. al-Layth, a scribe of Yaḥyā b. Xālid the Barmacide (d. 805), cf. G. Flügel, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, Leipzig 1871, 120-1) seem to have flourished in the Sasanian period. Furthermore, Šāhbūhr II is said to have founded a fire named Srōš-ādurān (cf. M. Mo'in, *Mazdayasnā*, Tehran 1326, 240); since sacred fires are not normally named for a *Yazata*, it seems that the *Ādurān* may have been founded for the soul of a man named Srōš.

originated in the Sasanian period, it would be untenable to postulate that the cult of Srōš was less than ardent among the population of Sasanian Persia as a whole. It seems safe, however, to assume that a school of thought existed there which accorded only moderate veneration to this *Yazata*.

Such an attitude seems to be adopted by the author or authors of the *Mēnōg ī Xrad*, a work assigned by Boyce⁸⁸ to the time of Xosraw I (531-579), where references to Srōš appear to be remarkably scarce. The role which is most convincingly attributed to him is that of a psychopomp.⁸⁹ The remark, in a passage concerning the pre-eminence of *Ērān-wēz*, that "their lord and king is Srōš"⁹⁰ (coming at the very end of the passage, after a reference to the *Ratu*-ship of Gōbēd), or the statement that "the dwelling of Srōš is chiefly in Arzah, and then also in Sawah and in the whole world",⁹¹ would hardly seem indicative of a great preoccupation with the functions of the divinity. The only other *Mēnōg ī Xrad* passage to mention Srōš⁹² (a description of the final battle between the forces of good and evil), differs from similar passages in other Pahlavi books in that it accords a less prominent role to him: while most sources depict Srōš as Ohrmazd's collaborator in the final act of this battle, when he slays the demon Āz,⁹³ the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* attributes this feat to Mihr, Zurwān, the Spirit of Justice, Fate and Providence; Srōš fulfills the apparently more modest role of overcoming Xēšm.⁹⁴

The evidence of the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* thus accords with that of the Persian Manichaean documents in that it represents Srōš chiefly as a guardian of the soul after death and attributes functions which, in other sources, seem to reflect Srōš's exalted position, to Zurwān and his *entourage*. Since Zurvanite ideas appear to have been dominant among leading circles in Sasanian Persia,⁹⁵ it seems possible that it was in such circles that Srōš was regarded with less veneration than e.g. among the orthodox Parthians. The fact that both the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* (which shows many traces of Zurvanite and fatalist ideas)⁹⁶ and the Persian Manichaean sources accord a well-defined, if less exalted place to Srōš seems to show that those who held such beliefs were not

⁸⁸ "Middle Persian literature", *HdbOr* 1.4.2, Leyden/Cologne 1968, 54.

⁸⁹ *MX*.II.114 ff., cf. above, Ch. III, pp. 133-4.

⁹⁰ *MX*.XLIV.24-35, cf. above, Ch. III, p. 111.

⁹¹ *MX*.LXII.25, cf. above, Ch. III, p. 110.

⁹² *MX*.VIII.13 ff., cf. above, Ch. III, p. 141.

⁹³ Cf. above, Ch. III, pp. 140-1.

⁹⁴ Srōš's defeat of Xēšm is also mentioned in *GBd*.XXXIV.27 ff., (cf. Ch. III, pp. 113-4), but there the defeat of Gannāg Mēnōg and Āz by Ohrmazd and Srōš is the final act and, it seems, the culmination of the drama.

⁹⁵ See R. N. Frye, "Zurvanism Again", *HTR* LII, 1959, 63-73, and Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 112-3, 118 ff.

⁹⁶ Zurvan is mentioned e.g. *MX*.VIII.9, (ed. Sanjana, 21-2; trsl. West, *SBE* XXXIV, 32); XXVII.10 (ed. Sanjana, 44; trsl. West, op. cit., 57). On the fatalist ideas found in the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* see further below.

opposed to the cult of Srōš—which, in view of the central place which Srōš probably continued to occupy in the ritual,⁹⁷ would have been unlikely *a priori*—but were merely less devoted to it.

That Srōš was less popular among those who held Zurvanite and fatalist ideas is hardly to be wondered at: his highly moral character and such functions as 'lord of this world', 'vice-regent of Ohrmazd on earth', and 'champion of the forces of good on earth', could hardly have held much emotional appeal for those who regarded the material world as fundamentally corrupt (cf. *MX*.XII.2: *kū cē rāy ka xīr ī mēnōg ēdōn rāst, hān ī gētīg ēdōn drō baxt ēstēd* "why is it that, while spiritual matters (are allotted) so rightly, those of the material world are allotted so falsely?"), who, in a sense, attributed to Ohrmazd himself an intermediate position between the Supreme Being (viz. Zurwān) and man,⁹⁸ and who believed that the affairs of the world were ruled, for good or evil, by Fate, Providence and the stars.⁹⁹ It seems possible therefore that, while the entire Zoroastrian community of the Sasanian period worshipped Srōš as a guardian of the soul after death, only non-Zurvanite circles were disposed to stress his position as 'vice-regent of Ohrmazd in this world' (whether the Zurvanists accepted such claims in theory or rejected them altogether, we have no means of knowing). That the cult of Srōš flourished among broad layers of the population, however, is suggested not only by the veneration accorded him in most of the Pahlavi books, but even more strongly by the fact that Sorūš is the only Zoroastrian *Yazad* to have survived, as an angel, in the Persian Islamic tradition.¹⁰⁰

In the period after the Islamic conquest of Iran, non-Zurvanite priests appear to have taken over the leadership of the community.¹⁰¹ In the centuries that followed priests came to be the only guardians of the traditions of the Zoroastrian community, and a scrupulous concern for the correct performance of observances and rituals seems to have characterized their activities.¹⁰² Many of the religious writings of the Zoroastrians which

⁹⁷ On the fact that Zurvanism does not appear to have had separate rituals, see Frye, art. cit., 67 *et passim*.

⁹⁸ Cf. *MX*.VIII.8-9 (on which see above, n. 96). See also Boyce, *Hist* II, 253, who considers the possibility that the representation of Sraoša as vice-regent of Ahura Mazda may itself have been partly due to an orthodox reaction against Zurvanism, which had made Ahura Mazda the vice-regent of Zurvan.

⁹⁹ On Fate, see e.g. *MX*.XXII, XXIII, XXIV (trsl. West, op. cit., 54-4). On the influence of the stars see *MX*.VIII.17: *harw nēkih ud juttarih ī ō mardōmān ud abārig-iz dāmān rasēd, pad 7-ān ud 12-ān rasēd* "all (that is) good and the reverse, which comes to man and to the other creatures also, comes (to them) through the seven (i.e. the planets) and the twelve (i.e. the constellations)".

¹⁰⁰ Cf. e.g. *Loghatnama*, S, 495-6 s.v. *sorūš*.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 160.

¹⁰² On Manušihr's objections to an innovation in the ritual proposed by his brother Zādspram see Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 154.

originated in the Islamic period¹⁰³ illustrate the central role which Sorūš, through his concern with orthopraxy and ritual purity, played in the devotional life of the individual and of the community as a whole.¹⁰⁴

Surveying the origin and development of Sraoša, as far as these can be deduced from the Zoroastrian tradition, one can say that *səraoša*- "Hearkening", apparently played a not inconsiderable role in Zarathustra's thinking. Like the great Gathic Entities he appears to have been, to a large extent, an 'indwelling' divinity, but even in the *Gāthās* he can also be shown to have had a close link with the 'external' phenomenon of the battle between the forces of good and evil on earth. This aspect of his nature may well have drawn him closer to the 'external' divinity Mithra, thus perhaps somewhat loosening his ties with the Gathic Aməša Spəntas. In the Younger Avesta, Sraoša is no longer represented as an Entity who is expected to come to man after the defeat of the forces of evil, but rather as an active participant in the battles against these forces. The fact that the imagery used to describe Sraoša in this role appears to be largely derived from the hymn to Mithra suggests that the association between these two *Yazatas* may well have played a considerable part in this development. The composition of Y.57 seems to have taken place at some time before Sraoša came to be closely associated with Rašnu and thus, presumably, before the adoption of the Zoroastrian calendar in the later Achaemenian period. The character of the hymn might perhaps be taken to suggest that it was composed at a time when Zoroastrianism had not yet been firmly established throughout Iran: the antagonism between 'religious obedience' and its adversaries seems to play so central a role there that it may well reflect the preoccupations of a missionary faith.

In later parts of the Avesta, however, a tendency can be observed to identify Sraoša's battle against evil increasingly with his concern for purity and proper performance of the ritual—thus linking his priestly and militant sides more closely together, and strengthening his ties with the priesthood. This development seems to reflect a trend in Zoroastrianism towards a greater preoccupation with ritual and religious observances. As a result of these factors, Sraoša apparently came to play an increasingly prominent role in Zoroastrianism; in the *Vendīdād* he is represented as the antagonist of the *Drug*, the general embodiment of evil.

Sraoša's functions thus came to be those of a champion of righteousness and purity, which may have caused him to be regarded as an active representative of Ahura Mazdā on earth. As such he seems to have assumed some of the functions of Spənta Mainyu.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Note, however, that no mention of Sorūš is made in either version of the Zurvanite '*Olamā'-e Eslām*' (cf. Dhabhar, *RivHor*, 437-49; 449-457).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. above, Ch. IV, *passim*.

¹⁰⁵ On Spənta Mainyu see Lommel, *RelZar*, 19, 20; Boyce, *Hist* I, 193, 211.

Another *Yazata* who seems to have been largely eclipsed, as a divinity of prayer, by the growing popularity of Sraoša, is Nairyō.san̄ha, who may well be the older divinity of the two,¹⁰⁶ and who seems to have occupied a powerful place in the Western Iranian pantheon at an earlier age.¹⁰⁷

The development which led ultimately to the veneration of Srōš as 'lord of this world' seems to have reached an advanced stage in the Parthian period. In Zurvanite circles, which were evidently influential under the Sasanians, the cult of such a moral divinity seems to have been less popular. The transmission in Pahlavi of the traditions which attribute the *sālārīh* of this world to Srōš, however, and the fact that Sorūš survived in the Persian Islamic tradition, suggest that his cult must have been widespread even in Sasanian Persia. The Zoroastrian writings of the Islamic period show that Sorūš continued to play a central role in the devotional life of the Zoroastrian communities.

It thus seems that the evolution of the character and functions of the *Yazata* Sraoša illustrates some of the principal stages in the development of the Zoroastrian religion as a whole. Originally the embodiment of 'hearkening', the quality which presumably enabled Zarathustra to hearken to Lord Wisdom and thus to found his religion, Sraoša's concern with the battle between good and evil on earth may well reflect the missionary tendencies of early Zoroastrianism. It was probably after the faith had spread to Western Iran that Sraoša formed a triad with Mithra and Rašnu—a development which may have been due to a special preoccupation with the social implications of the functions of these *Yazatas*, and thus reflect the demands made on Zoroastrianism as the religion of the ruling classes of a great Empire. The subsequent tendency to regard Sraoša increasingly as a *Yazata* concerned with orthopraxy and ritual purity, seems to reflect the growing power of the priesthood in a profoundly Zoroastrianized society.¹⁰⁸ Insofar as Srōš's position as 'lord of this world' was connected with a tendency to view matters of ritual as supremely important, it might be said to illustrate a development which, while it may have contributed to the eclipse of Zoroastrianism as a world religion, appears to have played a vital role in preserving the traditions of the faith in the centuries following the Islamic conquest.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. his connections with Ved. *nārāśansa*, on which see Gray, *Foundations*, 152-3.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the occurrence of the name Narišanka in early Old Persian nomenclature; see Benveniste, *Titres et Noms Propres*, 89-90.

¹⁰⁸ On the position of Zoroastrianism in the Seleucid era see Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 78 ff.

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SUBJECT INDEX

Where more forms of one word occur, the earlier form is usually given first, followed by later (or alternative) forms in square brackets. The latter are only entered separately if they differ significantly in meaning from the earlier form. Where necessary, explanations are given in round brackets. In the alphabetical order, no distinction is made between Latin letters and deviating signs (thus š is treated like s, etc.). If an entry refers to a place in the hymns, or to a note in the Commentary, the place or the note is given. In all other cases, the page-number is referred to.

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